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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

DISUNION—VIEWS OF A NON-RESISTANT.

So far as the Disunion movement is a moral protest against the existing Federal Union, I am uncompromisingly with it and for it—but no further. In its political and warlike bearing, my allegiance to Christian non-resistance forbids me to concur with it. I believe it will ultimately succeed in its leading object, *Peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.* I think I can foresee that the two great antagonistic forces of the nation will come at last to a bloody contest, and that slavery will be crushed both by *right* and by *might.* I anticipate many troubles to follow, growing out of antecedent causes, which will never be done away except by the prevalence of greater benevolence and wisdom than have hitherto existed in this or any other nation. But I recognise a supreme divine providence, which from

> "Seeming evil still educes good,
> And better thence, and better still,
> In infinite progression."

Meantime, as an accountable moral agent, I am in duty bound to stand up for what I am sure is *absolutely right,* both as to *ends* and *means.* I am utterly opposed both to slavery and war as capital crimes *per se,* and multiplex evils of the first magnitude. And I will countenance neither of them for the sake of abolishing the other. Standing on this ground, I cannot refrain my testimony against slavery for fear of exciting war, nor sacrifice the peace principle by joining with those who proclaim that slavery shall be abolished, *peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.*

I do not denounce pro-war anti-slavery men as equally in the wrong with pro-war pro-slavery men; being able to see that a *good end* sought by *bad means* is far less abominable than a *bad end* by *bad means*; though, perhaps, more to be deprecated on account of the incongruity between *good* in the *end* and *evil* in the *means.* I am aware also, that in proposing to fight for justice and liberty, they do not admit any wrong in their part of the warfare, how many soever may be slain. So they *think* and *feel,* and *act* accordingly. If I thought and felt thus, I should act heartily with them, and defy the brewing storm. But as I *think* and *feel otherwise,* I must *act* otherwise. I must not assume their moral responsibilities nor ask them to assume mine. Were I to assume theirs I should become a murderer, at the bar of my own conscience, the moment the first enemy was slain. Were they to assume mine they would probably despise themselves as cowards and traitors to human rights. It follows then, that they must take their course and I mine. If we cannot be identified as of one heart and mind in public meetings and measures, let the multitude of those who belong together go together, and let me be content to operate more solitarily in my own peculiar sphere. If they can organize a Northern Republic, outside of the present Union, on the old military and penal basis, let them do so, and then operate its machinery on their own responsibility. I cannot unite with them in such a work. Neither can I oppose them, except by what I deem Christian means. And if they succeed in establishing a more righteous government than that under which we now live, as is to be hoped, I shall be in duty bound to commend and honour it accordingly. But if they should inaugurate another era of military hero worship, I should be obliged from conviction to condemn and deprecate it as a new edition of the old barbarism, adverse to human progress.

If asked by the encomist of the Federal Union, on what grounds of moral protest I denounce it, I briefly answer:

1. I hold that man-stealing is a capital crime against God and humanity, more heinous, all things considered, than murder; that slaveholding is man-stealing deliberately perpetrated; that the system of slavery generates in its natural workings all the sins forbidden in the law and gospel; and that from this system proceeds all manner of evil continually.

2. I know that the Federal Constitution, which is the prescriptive basis and bond of the Federal Union, expresses no condemnation of slaveholding, but regards it as innocent and laudable—investing slaveholders with extra political power in the government proportionate to the number of their slaves, and binding the rest of the nation to facilitate the reclamation of their fugitives.

3. I see that the actual administration of government under the Federal Constitution, though declaring the foreign slave trade to be piracy punishable with death, has, nevertheless, favoured slaveholders, and extended and fostered their peculiar institution as a perfectly righteous, honourable and meritorious one, until now slaveholders claim for themselves of right the lion's share in all the advantages of the Union, making it summary death or punishment in fifteen States for any man to use his constitutional freedom of speech and the press against slavery.

I take these to be undeniable truths. When therefore, as a man, a philanthropist and a Christian, I contemplate the whole case in this light, with the slave population increased from little over half a million to four millions, all free discussion of the evil completely closed by a *reign of terror* in half the States, and all parties agreeing that the Union affords to slaveholders their greatest security, it is impossible for me not to abominate both slavery and the Union together. Slavery rises to view as a complex and gigantic embodiment, not only of capital crimes *per se,* but of all possible sins against God and humanity. And the Union stands forth the deliberate pledge of the nation to tolerate, uphold and defend this conglomeration of wickedness to the last extremity. If slavery is what I hold it to be, the Union which endorses, upholds, promotes and defends it must be correspondingly abhorrent to every true moralist. I therefore declare my uncompromising moral protest against the Federal Union as a huge national crime, working in deliberate aid and abetment of slaveholding.

Granting my premises, the logic by which I proceed to my conclusions is inexorable. And from that conclusion there is no escape, but by denying the primary premise. Accordingly most of the compromisers with slavery, whether in politics or ethics, contrive to persuade themselves, either that slaveholding is per se *no sin* at all, or that it is only one of those *venal sins* which by common consent mankind pass over in each other as excusable. Even Charles Francis Adams in his letter to the Worcester Convention lowers his anti-slavery to this flat key-note. He says, "I do not mean to charge upon slaveholders, as a class, that they are irredeemably wicked, any more than I should upon bankers, or brokers, or hotel-keepers, or liquor-sellers, or horse-dealers or any sort of traders!" He then goes on to argue, that in this imperfect world we must mix with and tolerate common sinners, ourselves being in the same category; and then adds: "On this basis, I am willing to continue indefinitely to live with slaveholders, even though some of them should trench a little on my rights!" Now, if I viewed slaveholding in this light, it would be unjust and absurd for me to object to the Federal Union on account of it, or to denounce slavery as a great crime, or a very deplorable evil in any sense. It would be no such thing. I could condemn and disfellowship only its grosser abuses. To be consistent, all politicians and religionists, who are in union with slaveholders, should take substantially this position of Mr. Adams. And then they should be very whist against the evil of slavery; since it can be no very bad thing after all. For a political lecturer to work up the moral indignation of his auditors, by making out slavery to be the most devilish sort of thing in the universe, and then wind up with solemn protestations of his devotion to the Union, &c., is blowing hot and cold with the same pair of lungs most ludicrously, not to say contemptibly; since if the thing is half as bad as he paints, no decent man ought to be in Union with it.

But I must criticise Mr. Adams a little. There is no need of regarding any class of sinners as *irredeemably wicked,* nor as all alike guilty, nor of measuring their internal guilt at all, nor of withholding from them any personal kindness however guilty, nor of ceasing to labour for their reformation. Christianity dictates the contrary of all this. But when it comes to be a question, shall we recognise them as good citizens, good moralists, and true Christians? then we are bound to be truthful and just in the matter. They either *are* or are *not* passably good. If they *are,* we are to speak and act accordingly. If *not,* then also accordingly. Mr. Adams ranks slaveholders as occupying the same general place with bankers, brokers, hotel-keepers, liquor-sellers, horse-dealers, &c. Is it so in fact? If it be, then my premises and conclusion, above stated, are false and absurd. There is nothing *per se* sinful in the proper business of a banker, a broker, a hotel-keeper, a liquor-seller, or a horse-dealer. It is only abuses and perversion that can bring either of these kinds of business into just condemnation. Cupidity, fraud, extortion, recklessness, and perverse management may render them nuisances and curses. Why did not the honourable gentleman refer to classes who are always criminal per se, such as pirates, robbers, thieves, forgers, brothel-keepers, &c.? Why, I ask? Plainly, because, as he viewed slaveholding, it would be unjust to place it in the same category with such infamous crimes. Instead of sinking it to the zero of capital crime, along side of murder, piracy, &c., it belongs in his moral scale, with abusable things. Therefore he can live with it indefinitely. He would never think of living with known murderers, pirates, robbers, forgers, counterfeiters, or common thieves. Even his charity would probably stop short of allowing such characters to pass as other than outlaws in the religious, political and social walks of life. He would not recognise them as true Christians nor good citizens. He would not welcome them to offices of honour, trust and profit, nor to the ballot-box. Nor is it probable he would be in favour of their going at large, except under bonds to keep the peace, especially if they declared their determination to persist in their evil pursuits. In a word, he would deem them outlaws. Are persistent slaveholders really any better? Would Mr. Adams think so, if they held *his* wife, children, or grand-children, just as they now hold those to whom they have only the man-stealer's title? "I trow not." The laws of the United States make the African slave trade piracy punishable with death—a capital crime, just as it really is. Would Mr. Adams favour the idea of placing these pirates on a moral, political and social level with our slaveholders? Why not? Once they occupied that level. Are they now worse than they? Or have slaveholders risen in the moral scale? Did not all slaveholding commence in man-stealing? What is it but persistent man-stealing from generation to generation? How much worse is a pirate that ravishes a negro from the coast of Africa than the planter who buys, tasks and uses him up?! Or how much worse is the pirate that drags a rude barbarian from Africa than the man who snatches from the womb of his partially civilized slave-woman the new born infant, perhaps his own illegitimate child, and dooms him to hopeless bondage as a chattel personal?! O, it is lamentable that in many respects good men should regard slaveholding as *per se no sin at all,* or at worst as an allowable fault. But it ought to be regarded, and will one day be regarded as the worst of capital crimes, and those who persist in sustaining the really wicked position of the slaveholders will sink to the level of the piratical African slave-traders. Then we shall all make the case of their slaves our own, as if they were our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children or grand-children. God speed the day when the now insensible multitude shall rise to *that* plane of moral decency; for they will have nothing to boast of even then; since whoever wears the form of humanity ought to be ashamed to stand lower.

"Well," says the fighting Abolitionist, "if you regard slavery as you say you do, why not down with it, *Peaceably if you can, forcibly if you must?* Why deprecate the use of the sword of justice and liberty against so capital and multiplex a crime?" I answer; because Satan doth not cast out Satan, nor evil overcome evil. War is the twin-brother of slavery. Slavery began with war; by war has the fiend held fast his captives; and without war he could not retain them a day. I cannot trust in the war-fiend. He has been a liar, a murderer and a tyrant from the beginning. Both slavery and war were hell-born. Let them both be cast into the bottomless pit whence they came.—*Adin Ballou, in The Practical Christian.*

THE STATE OF THINGS IN UTAH.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Nov. 3, 1856.

AFTER reading the discourses of Brigham Young respecting the discontent among the women, it may not be uninteresting to know the more immediate cause of these passionate declarations and threats of the Mormon Prophet, although you will find that no allusion has since been made to the promised manumission of Utah's white slaves.

Brigham resides in a large two-story house some fifty feet square, built in a neat style, and furnished as sumptuously as the country can afford. In this house lives with him his *wife* (for although he has more than sixty concubines, she alone is recognised as a wife, the others are called "spirituals") and her four children, two girls and two boys. She is not, however, his first wife, for when she married Brigham he was a widower with three children—two girls and a boy—who are now all married. His "spirituals," or, as they are sometimes called, "fixins," occupied small houses in the neighbourhood of the gubernatorial mansion, living generally two or three in a house; but Brigham found that as the population of the city increased this plan did not suit—his *fixins* had too much liberty; in fact, they would, as he expressed it, allow brethren to "get between the sheets." He therefore had a large establishment built adjoining his residence, containing sixty small rooms, then surrounded the whole premises with a stone wall twenty feet in height. Into this harem he proposed to put the majority of his spirituals, make them take turns in cooking, washing, &c., and thus have them under his own immediate supervision. The females, however, with unpardonable obstinacy, refused to enter into this arrangement; and, although finally compelled to, did so not without much grumbling and "whining." This circumstance called forth the sympathy of their sisters in misery, and the Prophet found it necessary to thunder his anathemas upon their unprotected heads. They say no more; the fire is smothered, not quenched.

I am told by an eye-witness of the scene that Brigham, walking down the street a few days since, met a little boy returning from the mountain side with a few cows which he had been herding. Struck with something in his appearance, the prophet stopped and called out, "Here, sonny! tell me, now, whose son you are." The little curly-headed urchin answered, "Ma tells me I'm brother Young's son, but you ought to know who I am." The seer knew not his own child!

* * * * * * * * *

Alice Young, Brigham's daughter by his first wife, was sealed a short time since to Hyrum Clawson, a pimp or spy of the Governor, as his third wife. Miss Alice was first engaged to a young sergeant in the army, who came to the Valley with Capt. Beckwith, and joined the Mormons in order to secure her. As soon as his term expired he returned to Salt Lake to be rejected. She, in the meanwhile, had engaged to marry a young Mormon named Wright, upon the condition that he would go on a mission to Australia and serve faithfully for three years. He accordingly started last Spring, but will be doomed to disappointment, for Brigham has found it necessary to practice as well as preach.

If an "Apostle of the Lord" covets another man's wife, or "spiritual," and she refuses his advances, or if the husband is likely to be troublesome, recourse is had to a system which has been sanctioned and practiced by the authorities of the Church. The husband will be sent on a mission, and, of course, *dies or disappears!* The sainted Apostle then reveals to the woman that her late husband committed some enormity which has sent him to the infernal regions, but if she will marry him she will be sure to go to heaven, and also secure the salvation of her late husband. But if (as is generally the case) she favours his advances, they go and get Brigham's consent, and their secret meetings are considered perfectly lawful, provided they stand high in the Church and are firm in the faith!

* * * * * * * * * * *

I have noticed articles in Mormon papers from the States denying the existence of slavery in this Territory, but their mendacity in this as in all cases where their institutions are concerned is notorious. There are many slaves now owned here, both Negroes and Indians, and they are as much an article of sale as any other property.

It is true that the number of negro slaves is comparatively small, probably less than one hundred; but this scarcity arises more from the poverty of the people than from any aversion they have to slavery. Their laws sanction it, and their religion inculcates the idea that they (the Africans) are an inferior race of beings, and that this inferiority will continue in the next world.

I suppose that not less than four hundred Indian children are held in bondage under the pretense of apprenticeship! These children are purchased from the Indians (who steal them from the neighbouring tribes) for sums varying from $20 to $40 apiece. This traffic is thus encouraged by Mormons, and in fact sanctioned by their laws.

In regard to the Mormon children, they appear like a neglected, uncared-for set, generally dirty and ill-clad. The majority of them are girls, and this troubles the women very much, *for they know that a female is doomed to slavery and a life of misery.* It is also a singular fact that a large proportion of them are white-headed. These children are suffered to grow up in ignorance and vice. Without the hallowed influence of home to restrain them they are vicious, profane and obscene. Some of the worst language I ever heard fell from the lips of urchins in the street; but, when the most profane and indecent language is heard in their Tabernacle, and all other public meetings, no one can expect any other result. The Mormons boast or exult in calling things, as they say, by their right names; all parts of the human body are spoken of familiarly, in terms that would make anybody but a Mormon blush, and they say it is a part of their duty, if not of their religion, to teach their children a knowledge of the "issues of life," as they term it.

As to education, there is none here. You may have heard of the "University of Deseret," with its Chancellor and Professors, and I know not how many high-sounding offices, and also of the proposed donation of Congress* to it; but it is all a sham. There is no such University here except in name. They boast abroad of their common schools. They consist of edifices built in each Ward called school-houses; but these are in nearly every instance used for the sole purpose of holding what they term "Ward meetings"; and yet heavy taxes are collected throughout the Territory ostensibly for school purposes. It is the settled policy of the priesthood to keep the people in ignorance and poverty, for it is then easier to rule them.

These facts show the importance of the immediate attention of the American Government and people to the affairs of this Territory. What can be expected of this people, even if they should throw off the abominable Mormon despotism under which they are now groaning. They are nearly all foreigners of the lowest class—an ignorant, but industrious, hard-working people. Accustomed from their youth to be guided and ruled in all political matters, they are ignorant of the first principles of self-government.

Uninstructed in respect to our institutions and workings of our system of government, they are daily counselled to hate and despise it. These principles taught to the parents are by them instilled in the minds of their children, who, brought up without even a common education, are ready adepts in learning anything vicious or demoralizing. Moreover it is to be remembered that they are completely isolated, and that there is no external influence to modify these circumstances; all the news they receive from the world is through the medium of the Church newspaper, which is the only one in the Territory.

What then is to be expected from them, if, as some writers propose, they are left to themselves to work out their own ends?

We want here the Bible, a Free Press, faithful Missionaries, and a complete system of education, so that old and young may receive instruction. But these things cannot be had without a complete change in the administration of the laws, and the entire separation of Church and State.

*That donation has been granted by Congress.

YOUNG MEN FORBIDDING AGITATION.

[The "Young Men's Christian Association" of this city having lately adopted a resolution forbidding "all discussion or action in any form upon the question of slavery," the Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, moved to righteous indignation in view of the wickedness and folly thus exhibited by the young scions of cotton piety and conservatism, bears down upon them in *The Independent,* with the weapons which the Prophet Elijah found so effectual in his conflict with the worshippers of Baal.]

A RELIGION of convenience is certainly a most elastic and convenient thing. It can swallow or be swallowed, can compass or be encompassed, with equal facility and ease. It can be carried in a corner of the pocket, or it can be worn as a dress, or it can surround the body as a tent, capable of indefinite enlargement. It can be thrown over the shoulders as a wrap-rascal, or, if need be, converted into a straight-waistcoat. It can command the commandments or be commanded by them; can annihilate them by the word *Corban,* or stiffen and petrify them into the letter, as rigid and lifeless as a pillar of salt. It can drive a railroad through the centre of the Decalogue, as easily as a tunnel through a mountain. It can be all things to all men, and make men all things to it, and all things by it. It makes expediency the higher law of Christianity, and truth and righteousness must submit or be silent before it.

But the law of expediency is not always that of wisdom, and there is a great difference between true wisdom and over-cautious timidity and care. It is not an agreeable spectacle to see young men prematurely old, with the grasshopper a burden—to see young men afraid of that which is high, and mistaking expediency for piety. It is very sad to see them preferring the stillness of death to the unity of life. Archbishop Leighton, commenting on Peter's injunction, *Be ye all of one mind,* says: "As the agreement of a number of dead bodies together, which indeed do not strive and contest, that is, they move not at all, because they live not; so is that concord in things of religion, which is a not considering of them, nor acting of the mind about them, it being the fruit and sign either of gross ignorance or of irreligion. By this, all religions may agree together. But that were not a natural union produced by the active heat of the spirit, but a confusion rather arising from the want of it; not a knitting together, but a fusing together, as cold congregates all bodies, how heterogeneous soever, sticks, stones and water; but heat makes first a separation of different things, and then unites those that are of the same nature."

Good resolutions are good things for young men, good for all men; but bad resolutions are very bad; and resolutions to keep in the dark, resolutions against discussion, are mere stultifications. Good resolutions are things that young men may build upon, may anchor with, and, by God's help, outride a storm. But resolutions *to do nothing* are like the insanity of shipmen casting anchor upon deck, or in a great storm dropping it under the hatches, and imagining that the ship will hold by it. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments tell us of men who cast anchor on a sleeping leviathan, thinking it was an island, and even went so far as to get their pot to boiling with a fire kindled on his back; but when he awaked, and made for the deep sea, they found it was a terrible mistake. Milton himself makes allusion to such a blunder, but he never dreamed that young landsmen will beat the sailors all hollow, in coming to anchor where there is no bottom. It is very droll to hear the outcry renewed against agitation. It reminds us of a lady on her passage across the Atlantic, who, in the midst of the voyage, being a good deal "put about" by the rough weather sent to request the captain to stop the machinery, and come to anchor, until she could finish dressing for dinner!

Some young men, finding a fire in the hold, clap down the hatches, and think they can suffocate it, but this is a very dangerous expedient out at sea. It were much better to throw over the whole cargo. Well-drawn resolutions will never extinguish a fire. Neither can you put your troubles to sleep by breaking them on a Procrustes' bed, and humming a union-lullaby; for the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself upon it, and the covering narrower than that a man can wrap himself up in it. The most cunningly devised plaster sometimes keeps up a feverish heat, without drawing out the pain. Blisters and bayonets are bad things to sit down upon. We are reminded of a man who wore a pair of thick strong leather breeches in the Winter. On a visit to a neighbour's, while the family were seriously attending to the reading of the Scriptures, this gentleman stood before the fire with his coat-tails under his arms, gathering a grateful warmth for his posteriors. Forgetting the nature of his nether integuments, he thought he would resume his chair, but the *argumentum à-posteriori* was so fervid, strong and sudden, that he started up, to the amazement of the household, and went jumping in anguish round the room, in vain endeavouring to alleviate the pain by clapping his hands to the afflicted region, for every time he did this, the hot leather breeches only renewed the burning, and that too amidst peals of irrepressible laughter from the servants and the guests!

Now, a single man might much more easily sit quiet on a cushion of hot leather, than an Association of young men in the strait-jacket of such a resolution as the following, proposed and carried in place of three or four resolutions against slavery. We quote from the published report:

> "Mr. Crosby said that he was in favour of almost every word of those resolutions, but he did not think it right to discuss anything, however good, about which good, honest Christians had difference of opinion. He therefore proposed the following substitute.
>
> "Resolved, That inasmuch as this Association was organized for the special objects, upon which all its members agree, having in view the promotion of evangelical religion among young men, and the discussion of slavery is not one of those objects, but the subject is one upon which the members do not all agree, one which disturbs our peace and harmony, and alienates many friends of the Association in the community around us, therefore all discussion or action in any form upon the question of slavery, and upon political and sectarian issues generally, in the meetings of this Association, is hereby declared inconsistent with its objects, and out of order, and is forbidden."

One might imagine this to be an association of young dragons, voting that all should be tied in succession to a dentist's chair, while each other's teeth were drawn. "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another"; but if the only reason for not biting is because the teeth are filed away, or pulled, such restraint is very small virtue. If Christian men cannot trust themselves with freedom of speech and of discussion, what are they fit for? Perhaps they have adopted to the letter the Apostle's rule, not to receive members to "*doubtful* disputations." They may dispute on any subject *not* doubtful, any subject on which there is no possibility of any difference of mind, but they may not discuss any subject in regard to which there is any *question to be discussed,* any point to be determined, capable of two opinions. What a vigorous and expanding discipline must be constituted by such a principle! What a grand and noble school, both for the intellect and heart, would grow out of it!

If it were not for our desire to come to a serious argument in regard to this matter, we should say that it reminds us of the poor woman who resolved not to speak in meeting, some garrulity of that kind being one of her infirmities. But a little dog worried her, or some unexpected temptation provoked her to an utterance, and under a sudden conviction of the trespass, with a mortifying sense of the failure of her own resolution, she cried out, "There, if I haint spoke in meeting!" "Oh dear, here! I've spoke again!" "Oh dear, what *shall* I do? I'm a-speakin' *all the time.*" The young men, under the pressure of this resolution, will be very apt to find themselves *a-speakin' all the time;* for it is not in nature not to resist a vacuum, and they will be in the condition of an exhausted receiver. On the least disturbance, the air will rush in, as at the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace.

If they are bidding for public favour or enlarged usefulness, by assurance of the exorcism of all discussion on themes where there is any difference of view, we should like to know how they are to get on at all? A steamer without a steam-engine is in no danger of explosion, but then the question is, How to move? When competition ran high one season on the North River, a timid old lady in spectacles was saying she preferred to go in the other boat, for it was "a low-pressure boiler, and no danger of bursting." "Well, marm," answered Young America, "we can do better by you than that, for we've had the boiler taken clean out of *our* boat, so that there's no possibility of bursting at all. You may come along with us."

Just so with the young men. It is the most perfect possible security against explosion, not to have anything either to burst with, or to burst about. Is not that the perfection of Conservatism?

There may be evils from having the light let in on all subjects, especially on slavery, but darkness is not *always* safe. Knowledge hath its perils, but an enforced ignorance embosoms a greater danger. Silence, and quiet, and safety from disunion and madness, are not inevitable concomitants of darkness. In the progress of the frightful Arctic Winter encountered by Dr. Kane, the long darkness drove the dogs to hydrophobia, and nearly deprived even the men of their reason. There is doubtless a natural congruity and connection between outer darkness, and weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

THE MARCH OF FREEDOM.

To the Editors of The New York Daily Times.

IF we examine the progress of population in the slave States we must become satisfied that the time is not distant when the border States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri will be redeemed. We shall find that there are three stages in the history of slavery; the first or most flourishing stage is that in which the slave population increases in a greater ratio than the whites. The second or satisfactory stage is that in which though the slaves increase in numbers they increase in a less ratio than the whites. The third, or declining stage, is that in which, while the whites increase as they do in all our States the slaves are diminishing in numbers.

The figures below from the various census tables of the United States will show how the condition of the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia at the double decades of 1790, 1810, 1830 and 1850:

	1790.	1810.	1830.	1850.
Delaware—Whites	46,310	55,861	57,601	71,169
Delaware—Slaves	8,887	4,177	3,292	2,290
Maryland—Whites	208,649	235,117	291,108	417,043
Maryland—Slaves	103,036	111,502	102,994	90,368
Virginia—Whites	442,115	551,534	694,300	894,800
Virginia—Slaves	293,427	392,518	469,757	472,528

It will be seen by the above statistics that as early as 1810 Delaware had entered upon the third or declining stage. Maryland upon its second or stationary stage, while Virginia was still in the first stage, as the increase of her white population for the preceding 20 years was but 24 per cent., while that of her slave population reached about 34 per cent. In the next period of 20 years Maryland passed into the third stage, and Virginia into the second, her white population increasing in a much larger ratio than her slaves. In the last double decade, ending in 1850, Virginia had an increase of over 200,000 whites, while her slave population increased less than 3,000. I have no doubt but that the census of 1860 will show Virginia very decidedly in the third or declining stage of slavery, and that her white population [illegible] more than in any previous decade. The [illegible] holidays, and which has filled the jails in Virginia with those slaves who were guilty of knowing how to read in spite of the laws, and who were therefore suspected of loving liberty too well, has aided and will continue to aid in diminishing the slave population of that and other border States. The impulse which has been given to the cause of internal improvements has had the same effect, both by introducing a large force of Northern and foreign freemen, and by the sale of slaves to raise the means of carrying on those improvements.

The population of Virginia is now about 25, while that of New York exceeds 75 persons to the square mile. Commercial statistics show that in the year 1850, the total exports and imports of Virginia were less than $4,000,000, while those of New York amounted to more than $163,000,000. In arts and manufactures nearly the same disparity existed; and in agriculture, which is the peculiar boast of Virginia, we see by the census of 1850, that Virginia's 61,000 square miles of farming land were estimated at $216,000,000, and her agricultural implements at $7,000,000; while the 46,000 miles of New York were estimated at $554,000,000, and her agricultural implements at $22,000,000. No well-informed man doubts that slavery has been the cause of the slow progress of Virginia. But the fear has prevailed that there was no hope of removing the great evil, except by some terrible servile commotion, by the rising of some future Moses, who, aided by the exterminating thunders of Almighty retribution should lead his enslaved brethren through a Red Sea of fire and blood, which shall swallow up the masters in one undistinguished ruin.

But it seems to me that the statistics above presented show a reasonable certainty that, in the border States at least, freedom will be attained at no distant day, by the operation of natural and peaceful causes, by the diffusion of knowledge and Christian charity, and by the greatly-accelerated movement of those causes effected by information imparted through the late political canvass, as to the ruinous economy (to say nothing of the morals) of slavery. These statistics should arrest the attention, not only of patriots and philanthropists, but of farmers and moneyed men. By the application of one of the greatest of modern inventions, "The Emigrant Aid Society," not only could liberty, arts and education be speedily transplanted to the Northern slave States, but very large investments could be made in lands which would be more than doubled in value in a single year. In the neighbourhood of the Blue Ridge, land held at from $10 to $20 per acre, would be trebled if held in large quantities, and occupied by industrious and intelligent freemen, so as to secure to themselves schools, society and respect for labour. What adds greatly to the importance of such an investment, is the fact that the lands would be in a most genial climate, within 4 hours of the political capitol and within 16 hours of the commercial capitol of the country.

J. C. UNDERWOOD.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

OWEGO, N. Y., Jan. 21, 1857.

DEAR M.: When you heard that New York rolled up 70,000 majority for Fremont, did you think of the Republican voters of this State as being of the same stamp as those upon the Western Reserve? If you did, you made a woful mistake so far as concerns the Republicans in this section, unless those we have *not* seen, are very unlike those we *have* seen. I think I do not hazard anything in saying that the Republicans of Southern New York are as far behind the Republicans of our Western Reserve, as the National Democratic party is behind its competitor.

The people here very properly make the distinction between Republican and Abolitionist; if they did not, James Gordon Bennett would have to protest against being ranked with "nigger worshippers"—an idea too ludicrous for any sane mind to entertain. The first principles of anti-slavery need as much to be taught here, as they ever did in any portion of our country fifteen or twenty years ago. The Republicans are not anti-slavery, and do not claim to be; they are simply non-extensionists. They say, "We mean to keep slavery out of Kansas, but not for setting the niggers loose, that is another question"; and so it is, and one which they are but little inclined to discuss. If slavery steals territory they want for themselves, and canes the Senators they send to Washington, they *have* an opinion upon these points, and are not afraid to speak it. But it may hold in its grasp the territory of fifteen States, and flog two millions of women, but that is none of their concern; they don't wince until their own interests are trampled upon, or their own backs threatened with a caning.

Fremont's opposition to slavery in Kansas was not based upon *principle,* he treated it simply as a question of *expediency,* and the great mass of his followers did the same. That was a pertinent question that was asked by a somewhat profane observer of the late political canvass, who, looking over the Republican ranks, beheld Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians unitedly shouting their political war cry—"No slavery in Kansas"; said he, "If slavery is such an *infernal* bad thing it mustn't go into Kansas, how happens it to be so *damned good* they can keep it in the Church?"

If you expect the people here to know even so much of Garrisonian abolitionism as to be able to understand it, you are mightily mistaken; as well expect a Hottentot to comprehend the construction of an ice cream, or an Esquimaux to understand the magnetic telegraph. A blustering, hot-headed republican with whom I recently met, said to me in the course of conversation, "I s'pose you know Gerrit Smith, don't you? He's a good deal of a man, aint he?" Having responded upon these points, the next query was, "There's a fellow of the name of Garrison somewhere or other, aint there?" I told him there was, and that he lived in Boston. "Seems to me I've heard so, and that he won't vote or do nothing." I tried to explain Garrison's position, and his reasons for occupying it, and my remarks were received with the comment, "That's all gammon. We gave Fremont a push this election, and we mean to do as well next."

On another occasion allusion was made to the Sumner outrage in the presence of the wife of a prominent republican, and the speaker was obliged to explain to her what was meant, though she afterward endeavoured to conceal her ignorance upon the subject. The popular prayer of those around us should unquestionably be "Give us light!" But it is not, by a good deal.—*B. S. Jones, in The Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

LETTER FROM GEORGE R. RUSSELL, ESQ.

REV. THOS. W. HIGGINSON, Worcester.

DEAR SIR: I cannot attend the Convention to which you have invited me, nor do I think that the time has come for the North to formally propose a dissolution of the Union. The extreme South would gladly see us take the initiative, and it is a part of its policy to drive us to measures which may compel us to become aggressors. There are, doubtless, those who are looking to the formation of a Southern empire, and as they are willing to buy when they cannot steal, provided they can as usual put their hands into Northern pockets, they will cling to us until they have exhausted our resources, or, giving up negotiation, resort to the more summary and congenial modes of piracy and murder to secure whatever territory they may deem necessary to carry out their gigantic felony: When we are no longer useful, they will kick us out, provided we submit to the operation, or adopt the more preferable method of driving us to rebellion.

* * * * *

I believe that there are elements in operation which will crumble it [slavery] into the dust, and it is better they should work, secretly and silently gnawing at its very heart, than that their action should be anticipated by open and extraneous influences. If, however, I am wrong in this supposition—if that infernal tyranny is to sit crouching like an incubus on the breast of the nation, and there is no other hope for its overthrow than an utter dissolution of the compact which holds these States in confederacy—the sooner it is resorted to the better it will be for us and our children.

I say this with no unkind feeling towards the South, and with no desire to check her prosperity, or to leave her in that helpless imbecility to which separation would reduce her. She cannot be supported by conventions, which periodically determine that she shall be powerful. Resolutions will not alone create national wealth. Commerce and manufactures do not arise at the bidding; and the slavedriver's whip is not the magician's wand to convert sterility and weakness into affluence and strength. They are not her friends who counsel her to cut off the arm that sustains her, or to provoke the withdrawal of the only power which gives her vitality. Yet, if she is bent on self-destruction, and can only gain knowledge through the bitter experiences of sorrow and repentance, let her go. We can spare all, and be the better for the loss. There has been enough of threatening. Let us have a little action.

> "Stand not upon the order of your going,
> But go at once."

You will leave behind you, men, wealth, science and energy, that will build up a Republic which shall be the marvel and the hope of humanity; in which a tyrant cannot dwell, nor a slave breathe. We would not impede your retreat by a single entreaty. We have tried, gentlemen, and been answered by insult. We have confided in your honour, and been cheated; in your generosity, and been laughed at. We have been cajoled by compromise, and lost everything; and we trust you no longer. We [illegible] no respect for your character. We have exhibited too much of the conciliation which savours of subserviency, too much of explanation and apology where there should have been either silent scorn or open defiance. Northern men have never yet sown submission without reaping contempt.

Whether this is, or is not, the time for the North to agitate the question of separation, it certainly has abundant reason to justify itself in so doing. While I have strong doubt as to the present expediency of the measure, I honour those who, feeling the necessity, come forward as pioneers, without counting on public approval or reprobation. That many will keep aloof, who secretly exult in the movement, may be expected from the experience of all past time. That others will condemn, with the accustomed routine of holy horror, which is always expended on proposed reforms, is as natural a result as the dismay of true believers at the desecration of their idol.

But the Union is not an African *fetish,* to be blindly worshipped, but it is to be honoured or despised in proportion to the measure of its powers for good or evil. It may be a blessing or a curse, and must be judged accordingly.

It is not surprising that some should think it time to weigh its value, when slavery is the declared policy of its voters; when old landmarks are removed, and the black flood sweeps over State and Territory—or if for a time arrested, it is because some more mighty villany is in contemplation; when a false and corrupt basis gives an unequal representation to the country, and allows the slave States a monstrous advantage, without any compensation to the North; when the constitutional decisions of a pro-slavery Supreme Court are uniformly on the side of wrong; when Southern interests are implicated, and can as confidently be predicted as the coming on of night; when free speech is stopped by sneaking and cowardly assassination, and the perpetrators are honoured for a deed which should have clothed them with the convict's parti-coloured garments; when Northern men are daily threatened with violence in the capital of the country; and in some States, the law gives no protection to their lives and property; in a word, when the whole land is governed by a petty band of slaveholders, who consider every question according to its bearing on slavery, and who are turning what should be a great and glorious nation, into a disgraceful and appalling despotism.

With all these wrongs, and many more, crowding before us, we have in vain sought redress. Every concession on our part has been followed by more flagrant outrages, and our powers of endurance are by no means commensurate to the perseverance and fertile invention of our tormentors.

This state of things cannot last. Those who whine about the Union, and, bidding us forget our injuries, assure us that in no possible event can there be a separation of the States, either mistake the signs of the times, or are deplorably ignorant of the character of their countrymen.

We would keep the Union as long as it is worth keeping, and no longer. When it becomes hopelessly worthless, injurious to us in constant shame and degradation, it can be, ought to be, and will be broken up.

Respectfully yours, G. R. RUSSELL.

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

From The Cincinnati Commercial.

THE sudden development of an Emancipation party, formidable in numbers and unequivocal in sentiment in the Border Ruffian State, is to most a surprising, and to all observant persons, a significant event. It is a practical showing of the truth of a theory which we promulgated some time ago, to the effect that the pro-slavery fanaticism prevalent in the South, would excite into activity an opposition at home, so that one of the next phenomena of American politics, would be a Southern anti-slavery party. In Missouri the fever of pro-slaveryism has raged with the most fury. Her great river has been blockaded against men in favour of making an adjoining Territory a free State, and blood has been spilled upon her borders, and robbery committed on her highways, and her sons have torn open mail-bags, stolen the horses, and sacked the wagons of emigrants, interfered with elections, invaded peaceful neighbourhoods with hordes of imported desperadoes, burnt the property of inoffensive men, and have not failed to augment their guilt of murder most foul, in the name of "law and order," that Free Soilism might not take root on her western frontier—and lo! there is a Free Soil party in their midst. The apparition that they sought to frighten from the extremities of the land, is at their firesides. The party whose presence they determined not to tolerate between the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Mountains of the West, has its avowed representatives in the Legislature, its representatives in Congress, its press in Jefferson City and in St. Louis, speaking bold words of unquenchable truth. The Ruffians have left their homes to destroy printing presses that gave utterance to the opinions of a free people, and now one of the leading papers of St. Louis pronounces in favour of Emancipation, and pledges itself not to cease labouring to the end that Missouri may take her place among the free States of the confederacy. Atchison was right when he declared that if Kansas became "Abolitionized"—by which he meant free—the days of the slaveholders' power in Missouri were numbered. Missouri, with Illinois, Iowa and Kansas bordering upon her, and all surpassing her decidedly, in population, productions of the soil and the workshop, splendour of cities, capacity of steam navies, institutions of learning, could not fail, finally, to rid himself of the foul incumbrance that dwarfed and cursed him. The Ruffians have now work to do at home as well as abroad, and they have to contend with all that is excellent in the progression of the people, and all that is suggestive in sunlight. The style in which they are met at home, will be seen in the following paragraphs from an article on Emancipation in the Missouri *Democrat:*

> "Viewing the question as a subject of State policy, we will venture to say that it is the grandest ever propounded to the people. If it were affirmed in a constitutional convention, and thoroughly carried out without any violation of vested rights; Missouri, in a few years subsequent to its consummation, would be the foremost State on the American continent. *Population would flow in from all sides, were the barrier of negro slavery once removed, and in place of 80,000 slaves we should have 80,000 white men,* which, in addition to the population we should have at that time, would give us at once an aggregate of two millions.
>
> "Is Missouri ambitious of political power?—a power which is slipping away from the South—the mode of acquiring it is found. We are not rash enough to attempt a description of our condition if the element of free labour were introduced. The earth would give up its hidden treasures at its bidding as the sea would give up its dead; and the soil would bloom more luxuriantly than if it drank the dews of Hebron nightly; ten thousand keels would vex our rivers, towns along their banks would grow into cities, and St. Louis would soon unite in itself the attributes of the greatest commercial, manufacturing, and literary metropolis in the world. Let it be remembered that we have every inanimate element of wealth and power within our limits, *and that we require only labour—free labour—for we need not say that servile labour is inadequate.*"

THE *Central Advocate,* Methodist organ, of Missouri, comes out cautiously in favour of Emancipation. It speaks in highly eulogistic terms of the discussion of the Emancipation question in the Missouri Legislature, and "would deplore any strife or vicious feeling," sees "no necessity for strife among neighbours and fellow-citizens" in the discussion of even the slavery question. The *Advocate* has the assurance to believe slavery a great evil, and desires its removal. We quote the paragraphs in which its position is defined:

> "We are not willing to acknowledge the free, intelligent citizens of Missouri incapable of free discussion, even of this subject, without vicious strife. * * *
>
> "Other States of our glorious confederacy have emancipated, and the civilized world commend them; why may not we? Is there less of intelligence, less morality less love of order with us than with them?
>
> "But there are other, and higher, and holier considerations which lead us to desire—if in God's providence it may be accomplished—emancipation. We believe slavery to be a 'great evil,' and cannot, therefore, so long as we have a heart to feel for others' woes—a Christian heart—cease to desire the removal of the evil. * *
>
> "In the attitude this subject is here assuming, an attitude as it should be, given it by our own people and representatives, uninfluenced by foreign elements, there are just these two views which may be taken, these two positions assumed: Slavery as it exists among us is either an evil or a blessing; if the former, let it be abolished, if the latter, let it be fostered.
>
> "Let us have no dodging, no side issues rung in. The scheme by which this is to be effected, in all its details, can by the wisdom of our statesmen and philanthropists be wrought out in due time; and the means necessary to the accomplishment of so grand and glorious a consummation—a consummation over which Christian men and angels would shout—can be secured.
>
> "In this we would not, were we now ready for it, suffer ourselves to dictate, but would simply suggest, that the Methodist Episcopal Church, with other evangelical Churches, continues still the steadfast friend and patron of colonization, until something more feasible shall be presented. Our agents are still in the field, funds are being collected, and other efficient means are being employed to carry on this glorious work.
>
> "We declare that here every man is without excuse. If any decline to favour emancipation, we suppose it must be from one of two considerations: either they have not the courage to declare their wishes, lest they incur the displeasure of some, or they do not consider slavery an evil but a blessing, and, therefore, do not desire its extinction.
>
> "Will the religious press of the State speak out upon the subject? We wait with anxiety to see; not that we fear the consequences for ourselves if they should not come to the rescue, for we unhesitatingly assert that whenever we think we may forward the cause of emancipation by so doing, we shall speak, regardless of what others may do or fail to do; but we are confident that, should the religious press and the Churches of Missouri give their decided influence for emancipation, it will go very far towards the accomplishment of this most desirable object."

ST. LOUIS, Thursday, Feb. 12, 1857.

The Senate on Tuesday passed, by 25 to 4, a resolution declaring the emancipation of slaves in that State not only impracticable but any movement toward it impolitic, unwise and unjust, and that it should be discountenanced by the people.

The House yesterday passed the Senate's resolution against the emancipation of slaves, by a vote of 107 to 9.

A VIRGINIA SLAVE IN ENGLAND.

[The European correspondent of *The Independent* gives this account of a fugitive slave with whom he had become acquainted.]

HE was, indeed, a veritable negro, a native American-African, bearing the negro characteristics in unmitigated degree. Yes, my path was actually crossed, not merely by the uncommon visitation of a black man, but by an actual fugitive slave; by a Man, now free on free soil, as it were, at my own door—a man who had taken possession of his own body, borne it off from the new "Old Dominion" to the free Old Country. He was young, about thirty, of middle height, well-mannered and pleasant of speech, communicative and well clad; had been "the property" of the late proprietor of the *Exchange Hotel, Richmond, Virginia,* upon whose death, this, his servant, had been sold. The crisis of this man's fate was, that he, a home-born servant, had been sold, not to a Richmond gentleman or merchant, but to one of those earth-polluting reptiles, a dealer—sold to a vile go-between, to be used or abused he knew not how or whither. Through what opening a ray of light entered his prison-house of Richmond, may not now be told; suffice to say, he might be free, and desired it rather than the dread unknown before him. He had the courage and the opportunity to become free, and lord of himself; and so, as I observed to him, "The dealer, then, lost some $800 by you." "Eleven, sir," he replied, with a quiet smile. How, it may not be told, but he reached New York, and, shameful to the State, and most opprobrious that it should have to be said, "was afraid to remain there!" "Did not then know about Canada, nor that there were those in New York who would have cared for and advised him." So he came to England by the * * * the last voyage she made last year, the captain and the steward giving him twenty-five shillings at the end of the voyage.

His answers to my next questions were curious, and, as I suppose, characteristic of the negro. Why had he not sought advice and employment at Southampton; there was Joseph Clark, and a host of others who would have befriended him? But "he had heard of London, and how the Queen lived there, and he thought he should like to go;" and so this child of a large growth trudged off, first to old, old Winchester, in Hampshire, the burial place of Alfred—then over the "Downs" (those wide-spreading chalk hills, covered with short thymy turf, and dotted with flocks of sheep, with here and there solemn tumuli, beneath which rest the bones of Saxon and of Dane, of Roman and Briton), and so on to vast, dim London; and then, as if a veritable pleasure-hunting tourist, to regal Windsor in Berkshire. Here our fugitive was arrested and confined, and cruelly scourged; the marks of which were visible enough upon his person. Yes, tell it not in Gath or Gotham, here, on royal towered Thames, beneath the shadows of *the* castle itself! Vain that he had escaped from the gloomy shadow of the grim Moloch Idol set up at Washington, and called Law, as if it were indeed that "Image of God;" vain that he had escaped from an unsanctified, servile and dangerous soil, and from the hands of base myrmidons, those slaves of slaves and lowest of the low, who, for a dollar, or in gratuitous and unnatural baseness, would arrest, arraign and re-consign to perpetual bondage! It was not a Boston Rendition, but a Windsor arrest. O, shame to Victoria and to Britain!

In very truth, he was seized by the small-pox, and was consigned to that other Windsor Castle, the Windsor Union.

"Nobody," he said, "could be so kind as were the master and the chaplain, except it was the matron;" this he repeated with emphasis. He should have staid in Windsor, and would have been helped to a situation there, but for the small-pox. He had been furnished with a strong leather portfolio, supplied with small books, and so, as a kind of colporter, had pursued his travels; had just been to fashionable Leamington, in Warwickshire, and had come from it by way of old Puritan Banbury, in Oxfordshire, the native soil and burial-place of Ben. Franklin's forefathers, and so to the point where I had foregathered with him. He was quite comfortably clad—"Dr. Hester had given him this coat." He could not

read nor write; but "a gentleman who kept a drug-store where he had gone for some carry (very un-English that), had offered to teach him if he remained here through the Winter." I had no difficulty in identifying my benevolent friend of the "drug-store."

Thus, in brief, of this man, enfranchised by virtue of British soil. I would have fixed him in this locality, but he did not greatly incline to this fixity; it was evident that, emulating the virtues of his superiors, and under the influence of a desire, more or less enlightened, he wished to enjoy and improve himself by travel; and travel he will, spreading, among the curious inquirers everywhere, useful knowledge, strange and true, respecting the United States and transatlantic institutions.

SLAVE-CATCHING VS. STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

From The Milwaukee Free Democrat, Feb. 9.

The public mind is familiar with the history of the slave prosecutions which grew out of the escape of Joshua Glover, on the 11th of March, 1854. The decision of our Supreme Court, pronouncing the Fugitive Slave act, on which these prosecutions were founded, unconstitutional and void, was hailed with more universal approval than any decision of any court in this country, and there is no question that the people of Wisconsin are resolved to sustain the decision of our court at all times, and at all hazards, whenever called upon to do so.

The effect of that decision upon us personally, was to release us, for the time, from the fine and imprisonment imposed upon us by the decree of Judge Miller. But the civil suit was prosecuted to judgment in Judge Miller's Court, despite the decision of our Supreme Court; and our printing press and fixtures are levied on and advertised to be sold two weeks from this day, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to satisfy the claim of the slave-catcher, his officers and attornies, for the sum of $1,400, and the costs of sale. It remains to be seen, whether the decision of our Supreme Court, over which there has been so much rejoicing, has any vitality or force. Whether the property of our citizens can be taken and sold under a void law. Whether the sovereignty of the State can be set at nought and be trampled under foot by slave-catchers and their agents, with impunity. Whether the State has the power and the will to protect its citizens from fine and imprisonment, and the confiscation of their property, under void and unconstitutional enactments.

If our printing press can be sold to reward the slave-catcher for his outrage upon Law, Liberty and the Constitution, and we have no remedy, and the State will not interpose the shield of its sovereignty to defend us, the next step will be our seizure and imprisonment on the criminal judgment already declared void by our Supreme Court. And the supineness of the people under such an outrage upon the rights of the State, the dignity and authority of the Supreme Court, the majesty of law and their own liberties, would not only justify the organs and agents of the Slave Power to proceed to such extremities, but would invite further aggression upon the rights of property and liberty, and upon Freedom of Speech and of the Press.

The decision of our Supreme Court, in the Glover case, is worth *something* or *nothing*. It has power to protect the property and Liberty of the citizen against the operations of the unconstitutional enactment called the Fugitive Slave act, or it has not. If the property of the citizen can be seized and sold by virtue of a *void law*—that is, by *no law*—why not by virtue of the last year's Almanac? And if the State has no power to protect its citizens against such an outrage, by what authority and right does it undertake to punish *ordinary* theft and robbery?

We call to mind the spirit and language of the Republican Press, on this subject, two years ago. Was it *principle* or was it *policy*, which roused it to such stirring language and such stern resistance against the attempted enforcement of the Fugitive Act, then? Has the Slave Power grown more reasonable and more regardful of our liberties, within the last two years? Rather has it not committed fresh outrages against Liberty, and shown itself more determined than ever, to wage relentless and exterminating war upon the rights of the people of the free States?

This controversy concerns not us alone. Every citizen of the State, who values Liberty for himself and his posterity, has a deep interest in its right issue. To-day, the Slave Power selects us as its victim. To-morrow, or next year, it may seize upon any citizen of Wisconsin, and take from him Liberty and property, at the command of the vilest slave-hunter. Shall the principle of Liberty be established now and forever, on the free soil of Wisconsin, or shall our State Sovereignty and our Supreme Court be made a nullity, at the *dictum* of Judge Miller, and slave-drivers and slave-catchers let loose their bloodhounds among us, and clank their handcuffs and chains in our ears, as music most befitting a people who have not the courage to protect their persons from insult, and their liberties from outrage?

We subjoin the following extract of a private business letter, from a citizen who has [illegible] this State as a sample of the suggestions made to us by [illegible] *persecution*—that [illegible] steam engine have been seized in execution, and are offered for sale. [illegible] this matter, but the annoyances, embarrassments and losses which *you* have suffered in this affair, from first to last, will be far from encouraging on the part of others, any similar resistance to the enforcement of the infernal Fugitive Slave enactment. As a matter of public policy and duty, now that our Supreme Court has decided this enactment to be unconstitutional and void, our citizens should be protected in their disregard of, and *opposition* to it; and any and all expenses necessarily incident to the defence of those who, in this regard, may become objects of Federal persecution or prosecution, or who may be mulcted in a U. S. Court at the suit of some slaveowner or driver, should be met by appropriations of our Legislature, and be paid out of the public treasury. This is my view decidedly. Yours."

WORK FOR THE NEW SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Several of of the Synods of the New School General Assembly, at their last Fall meetings passed resolutions calling on the General Assembly to instruct the Presbytery of South Lexington, Mississippi, to commence process of discipline against Rev. D. W. Holley, who avowed himself on the floor of the General Assembly "a slaveholder from principle." Mr. Holley died recently, but his mantle has fallen upon others. The Rev. Dr. Newton, of Jackson, Mississippi, writing to the *Christian Observer*, says:

"I deem it due to the memory of his good name, his unquestioned piety and eminent services to the church in the salvation of souls, both of the bond and the free, as well as for the respect and affection which we bear toward his bereaved family, that some of us should favourably avouch the character and conduct of our deceased brother, and say to the Synod or General Assembly: 'If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account.'

"Accordingly, I hereby declare that there are to-day one, two, three—a half-dozen (and many more) ministers, members of the several Presbyteries constituting the Synod of Mississippi who are slaveholders, as Mr. Holley was; and who will say, as Mr. Holley said, 'We are slaveholders from principle.' That is, as Mr. Holley evidently meant, we are slaveholders conscientiously; we do not condemn ourselves for the deed; we do not deem slaveholding a sin.

"And I hereby notify the Synod of Genesee and all whom it may concern, that whenever it is desired, I will give the names and the declarations of ministers, with their autograph signatures, occupying precisely the same ground as that professed by Mr. Holley.

Thus is the gauntlet openly and boldly thrown down to the next General Assembly. If the professed anti-slavery men of that body are really in earnest in this matter, they cannot hesitate to take it up. They constitute the large majority of the Assembly. They are openly defied by the slaveholders. Will they have the moral courage to meet the issue? If they do the division of their church is inevitable. The slaveholders will not submit for one moment to the process of discipline; much less will they submit to a decision which shall pronounce them guilty of sin, and call on them to repent and reform. They deny that they are living in sin, in holding slaves 'from principle." They hold that it is perfectly innocent to buy, sell, own and work their fellow men for gain. The large majority of the N. S. Presbyterian Church profess to believe this kind of slaveholding a heinous sin and scandal. The General Assembly has repeatedly declared it to be such. They must then either meet the issue like men, and exercise discipline on the guilty, or they must ingloriously abandon all their anti-slavery professions, and come under the control of a mere handful of slaveholders. Which will they do? We have our opinion on that point, but reserve the expression of it to another time.—*Free Presbyterian.*

GOV. POLLOCK ON THE UNION.

Governor Pollock, of Pennsylvania, has outdone most of the Northern saviours of the Union, in the zeal of his words for that especial prop and pillar of slaveholding.

In his late annual message, he says:

"The union of the States, which constitutes us one people, should be dear to you to every American citizen. In the heat and excitement of political contests—in the whirl of sectional and conflicting interests—amid the surging of human passions, harsh and discordant voices may be heard threatening its integrity and denouncing its doom; but in the calm, 'sober second thought' of a patriotic and virtuous people, will be found its security and defence. Bounded in wisdom, and cherished by the intense affection of pure and devoted patriotism, it will stand, safe and undisturbed, amid the insane rage of political demagogism, and the fitful howling of frantic fanaticism; and when it falls—if fall it must—it will be when liberty and truth, patriotism and virtue, have perished. Pennsylvania tolerates no sentiments of disunion—she knows not the word of Disunion! 'tis an after thought—a monstrous wish unborn till virtue dies.' The Union and the Constitution—the safeguard and bond of American Nationality—will be revered and defended by every American Freeman who cherishes the principles and honours the memory of the illustrious founders of the republic."

Mere bombast and stuff is this, and nothing more; that 'Liberty, Truth and Virtue must die' when honest men cease their union with slaveholders to perpetuate their cherished, but more than diabolical crime. "Pennsylvania knows not the word disunion." True enough. But only because she is leagued with pirates, who prey upon human liberty, and means to perpetuate their common villany. She knows not the word, which indicates the only way to liberty, and national virtue, and hence she gives sanction to the monstrous sentiment of her own Kane, that the slaveholder, travelling in Pennsylvania, has as good a right to take with him his slave, as his overcoat or his carpet-sack. Such "virtue and patriotism" will perish when the Union falls. National virtue is already dead, when a wish for the perpetuation of such a Union as now exists, could be represented by the State, as the means of perpetuating liberty, and securing the blessings of truth and justice.—*Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1857.

THE SICK MAN AND THE DOCTORS.

The Union is in a bad way again. It has had a relapse, and relapses, it is well known, are worse than the first attack. The doctors are all in consultation—the old school ones and the new, but especially the new. The case must be a delicate one from the care these practitioners all take to keep the knowledge of its true situation from the patient. They all unite in assuring it that it is in no danger—that it is perfectly well—and not only so, but absolutely immortal. We cannot but look upon these symptoms as very bad ones. The symptoms of the doctors are generally more significant than those of the patient. If there be any faith to be placed in doctorial diagnosis, the Union must be on its last legs with a vengeance.

It is not often that we venture upon a course of Gubernatorial Messages. A course of mercury is nothing to it. But, in the precarious condition of this interesting invalid, we felt it to be our duty to run the risk. It is enough to say that we survive. Our constitution may have sustained a shock from which it may find it hard to recover; but we shall be consoled by the reflection that it was done in the line of our duty. Nearly all these eminent practitioners assert that the Union was never so well in its life. All who mention the subject (and there are but few who venture to pretermit it) agree in the dreadful consequences that would follow upon its dissolution. The possibility of a euthanasy is denied. Whatever may be the condition after death of the sufferer itself, they are all perfectly unanimous in the opinion that all of us would go to irremediable destruction in its wake. We have not been rash enough to encounter all the Messages of all the Governors. No man could do that and live. We have confined ourselves chiefly to the ones administered by those of the Republican school of practice. And it is mainly from the way in which they have made up their prescriptions that we have come to the melancholy conclusion above stated. There is but one, the Governor of Michigan, in whose Message we did not detect the word Union. We may have overlooked it. We hope we have, for we should be sorry to have put on record so clear a case of mal-practice.

But, besides these exalted practitioners, a host of lesser ones have undertaken the case all over the country. These generally unite with their trade of Union-patchers that of editors of newspapers. The attack which the Union had at Worcester last month has aroused all their anxieties anew and given a fresh edge to their zeal. As to those who sat at the feet of the regular members of the faculty who carried the patient safely through the crisis it passed in 1850, we expected all the officious pains we see them taking. So we have regarded with more interest the care-worn expression and the tremulous negation of danger which has furrowed the brows of the younger school and is to be seen written out in their bulletins. We have noticed a considerable change in their expression since seven years ago, which we are obliged to attribute to the narrow escape they think they had of having the exclusive charge of the illustrious invalid. Though they do not swear by the name of Webster or Cass, yet their talk is in much the same vein of those learned leeches. The preservation of the life of the Union is the one thing needful, from which all other blessings are to flow. And yet it is in no danger. It can be in no danger. You might as well [illegible] of a sick [illegible] or an ailing angel. These anxious watchers, however, are [illegible] Political doctors in larger practice are not so disturbed by the later phases of this capricious disorder.

But our inference from all these [illegible] phenomena—not of the sick man, but of his professional attendants—is quite the opposite of the opinion they so unanimously express. It is common for the physicians of kings and princes to hide from them, even to the last, the symptoms which go before mortality, and to extend the adulation which treated them as of the immortal gods even to the gates of death. And it is their habit, too, to hide the true condition of their august patients from their subjects as well as from themselves. To lie like a bulletin is a simile taken from those posted on palace gates when the King of Terrors is besieging them, as well as from those of victorious generals which predominate over the gazette. The immortality of the Union is one of the dogmas which it is now thought must be received as an essential preparation for admission to the paradise of office. But if immortal, why this trepidation when its enemies declare that it is not only mortal, but that its life is noxious and hateful, and should be put an end to, at once? Their breath surely cannot quench an immortal spark. We suspect shrewdly that the doctors know more of the real state of the case than they are willing to allow. And we must do some of them the equivocal sort of justice to say that we believe that, like many other medical attendants on Royal deathbeds, they would not break their hearts if the sufferer should give up the ghost. But while there is life, there is *hope*, in more senses than one.

But if they really don't know more than they pretend to, we can tell them that the Union is not merely mortal, but that it is afflicted with a black and eating cancer, which is congenital with it, which is not a supervening disease, but a constituent element of its Constitution. This cancer it prides itself upon, as the poor *crétins* of the Alps do on the hideous *goitres* which are dragging them down to death, and its chief care and skill is bestowed upon its preservation, its growth and its extension. Now these very New School leeches, who profess to understand the fatal nature of this horrible *schirrus*, have looked in all their treatment only to confining it to the half of the body which it has already converted into a mass of foul corruption. They have withheld their hands from it with religious care within the domain which it had already grasped within its festering roots. Their sole philosophy was to keep it within that region and to hinder it from spreading to the parts that have as yet been only sympathetically affected. And they profess to believe that they have effected this moral and physical impossibility. We can tell them that their success, if any, is apparent only, not real. Even if checked (which we do not believe) on the side they have been guarding, it will be only to burst out with fresh virulence in some newer direction.

We can tell these learned men that long continued life is impossible, however desirable they may think it, in such a case as this. All that can be done is to patch up and piece out for awhile longer a Constitution that was tainted from its birth and has been growing worse ever since. The only alternative which is presented to the partially sound remnant of the body politic is either to lop off the diseased portion or to await patiently its turn to be devoured. To expect that such a distemperature will either die out of itself or cease to encroach upon its more wholesome neighbour is surely as palpably absurd as these practitioners profess to consider the treatment by the knife and cautery recommended by the consultation of irregular practitioners held at Worcester. In desperate cases it is allowed to exchange the authentic curers of the body for advisers whom the regular schools do not recognise. If that assembly were but babes and sucklings, we think that praise will yet be perfected out of their mouths—if fools, that their foolishness will soon be accepted as the only wisdom. We know that the Union is doomed and that its end draws near, and we have faith that its Northern portion will yet summon virtue and strength enough to cut away its worser part and live the purer with the other half.

Erratum.—In the Rev. W. W. Patton's letter, published last week, in the seventh line of the second paragraph, for "result and confusion" read resultant confusion.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10TH AND [illegible]

The Convention was called to order Tuesday [illegible] at ten and a-half o'clock by Susan B. Anthony, [illegible] the following officers were nominated, and were c[onfirmed] by the Convention.

President—R. G. Murray.

Vice-Presidents—Isaac Post, Pliny Sexton, Be[illegible] Sarah D. Fish, Sarah P. Remond.

Secretaries—Sarah A. Burtis, A. M. Powell, C. M[illegible]

Business Committee—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, An[illegible] Lewis Burtis, Chas. L. Remond, Mary H. Hallow[ell], [illegible] Pound, S. J. May.

Finance Committee—Susan B. Anthony, Sarah P. Rem[ond], Wm. R. Hallowell.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, repo[rted] a portion of the following resolutions, which were acc[epted] by the Convention for discussion.

Whereas, through popular ignorance, prejudice, misrepre[sentation] and personal malignity, the principles and purposes of the Anti-Slavery Society (in whose behalf this Convention is [held]) either grossly misunderstood or basely caricatured, and, w[e] claim to be candidly heard in our own language, and to [be judged] by our own declarations, and not by those of others who [illegible] to us; therefore,

Resolved, That the only abolitionism we promulgate, and [call upon] the nation to reduce to practice, is embodied in the s[elf-evident] truths of the Declaration of Independence, and in the Go[lden Rule] of the Gospel—nothing more, nothing less.

Resolved, That we have but one object in view—the [illegible] liberation of the Slave; but one test of statesmanship—[illegible] but one proof of patriotism—the Slave; but one standard [illegible] the Slave; in other words, we pronounce that statesma[nship] folly which leaves the Freedom of the Slave out of [illegible] patriotism to be hollow which does not break his fetter[s] piety to be spurious which does not hail him as a man a[nd a brother].

Resolved, That he who was before all institutions, an[d who will sur]vive them all, is greater than them all; hence, that h[e is not to] be sacrificed that they may be preserved; and whenev[er they come] in conflict with his God-given rights, they are to be m[ade to yield or abo]lished, and he is to stand crowned with glory and h[onour, as] created but a little lower than the angels.

Resolved, That we shall allow nothing to stand betw[een the slave] and his emancipation—neither parchment nor compact, [neither Con]stitution nor Union, neither political party nor religi[ous sect; that] we shall press through them all, or over them all, [illegible] side issue, intimidated by no menace, appalled by no [illegible] break his yoke, and place him redeemed and disenthra[lled upon the] world-wide platform of a common humanity.

Resolved, That we accord to the slave the same rig[ht] [illegible] to any other human being—the right to seek his Fre[edom] [illegible] by resistance, by martyrdom, or by any other process w[hich] [illegible] nature approve; that it is his duty to flee, to resi[st] [illegible] vindication of his rights, and boldly to deny and despise the [authority] of his tyrant-master; that his only motto should be, "[Liberty or] death!"

Resolved, That the presence of four millions of chatte[lized slaves] in this land is awful and conclusive evidence of its utter religious apostacy and political corruption; demonstrating that the American Church is not the Church of Christ, but the Synagogue of Satan, and that the American Government is an overshadowing tyra[nny], more cruel in its exactions than any existing despotism in the [Old] World, in regard to any portion of the people who are enslaved [illegible]

Resolved, That while, as Abolitionists, it is not for [us to set] forth or promulgate any particular theological dogmas or fo[rms of reli]gious faith, we have ever vindicated Christianity, as taugh[t by its divi]nely inspired founder, from the foul aspersions cast upon [it by] pro-slavery expositors and wolves in sheep's clothing; that, [illegible] we hail the redeemer, and not the enslaver of men; that, in his gospel we recognise the principles of justice and huma[nity]—"[liberty,] equality, fraternity"—a glorious vindication of the Fatherh[ood of] God and the brotherhood of man.

Resolved, That any religion which is at peace wi[th] despotism is thereby proved to be a spurious religion; and it is [the] duty of all who truly reverence God to trample them both in t[he dust].

Resolved, That, while the North gives its sanction [and] support [to] slavery in fifteen States of the Union, it can make no co[nsistent] moral resistance to its extension in the Territories; that, [if it] would be a curse and crime to plant it in Kansas, it is no less [illegible] and disastrous to perpetuate it in Carolina; that it is equ[ally a]bsurd and immoral to make it a question of soil, climate, of la[titude or] longitude, or of bargain and compromise; that if it be [compatib]le with Christianity and Republicanism to hold four millions [of slaves] as property, it is no less so to hold four hundred millions [in the] same condition; that to license oppression is to lose the powe[r to] [illegible] and that any other issue with slavery in this country, e[xcept] th[at] of its immediate and total abolition, is wild and delusive.

Resolved, That if the cruel beating of Charles Sumn[er, on the] flo[or] of the United States Senate, should excite the tender[est sympathy] and warmest indignation of every manly soul, then [the] scourgings and horrible lacerations inflicted upon th[e slave popula]tion should elicit still stronger expressions of popular [illegible] the cause of the Free State settlers in Kansas jus[tifies the wide-]spread agitation, the generous aid, the heroic self-sa[crifice], which it has called forth, then the cause of the enslaved millions at the South deserves to be espoused with equal fidelity, and still greater zeal and de[vo]tion.

Resolved, That the cry of [illegible] son, which is so wi[illegible] tionists, is but the de[illegible] to the charge which was brou[ght] [illegible] phemer, and had a devil; against the [illegible] lent and seditious fellows seeking to turn the wo[rld upside] [illegible] against the prophets and [illegible] of all ages [illegible] organizers and heretics, whom to persecute and [illegible] service; a cry characterized by moral idiocy, intellectual stultification, envenomed malignity, or satanic perverseness, according to its source.

Resolved, That if, to make human liberty paramount to all other considerations be fanaticism, then we glory in being fanatics; that if to be in deadly antagonism to a pro-slavery religion be infidelity, then we are infidels; and if to declare that a slaveholding Union ought to be dashed in pieces be treason, then we are proud of the title of traitors; for "the *head* and *front* of our *offending* hath this *extent—no more.*"

Whereas (in the language of John Quincy Adams) "It cannot be denied—the Slaveholding Lords of the South prescribe, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves: The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of pursuing the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the Laws of God delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons—thus constituting a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known, and making the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the National Government"; and,

Whereas, This view of the design and character of the Constitution is sustained by the historical facts in regard to its formation, by its uniform interpretation by all the Courts and all the Legislatures of all the States, and by the spirit and action of the American people under it from 1789 to the present time, thus placing it beyond all reasonable doubt or denial; and,

Whereas, A Constitution so formed and administered is nothing better than a "Covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell," to uphold which is morally wrong and politically vicious—making responsible, as it does, the whole country for the safety and perpetuity of the above system; therefore,

Resolved, That it becomes a high moral duty to dissolve the present National Compact; to raise the banner of secession; to join in the cry of "No Union with Slaveholders": to separate the North from the South; that the awful responsibilities growing out of the existence of slavery may be placed upon the heads of those who proclaim their determination to perpetuate their nefarious "institution"—the resources of the Slave Power whereby it is enabled to extend and strengthen itself, cut off—the slaves permitted to stand erect and look their lordly masters in the face, and settle the question of their liberty, without any extraneous influence—the slaveholders deprived of all auxiliary aid, and put in a situation in which it will be a physical and geographical impossibility for them to retain a single victim in bondage.

Resolved, That we hail, as a cheering sign of progress in the right direction, the Convention recently held at Worcester to consider the expediency, duty and practicability of dissolving the Union—a Convention called spontaneously by a large and highly respectable body of citizens, and characterized throughout in its proceedings by the gravest deliberation, the most earnest spirit, the clearest intelligence, and the most determined purpose; and we urge upon the uncompromising friends of freedom in this and every other Northern State, to avail themselves of the earliest practicable period to hold a similar Convention.

On motion of Mr. Garrison, an invitation was extended to any and every person present during the sessions of the Convention, to participate in the proceedings.

Mr. Garrison then addressed the Convention, briefly setting forth the position, aims and purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He declared the platform to be *free*, and urged those differing with himself, to present their views, and convict him of his error, if in the wrong.

Mr. Powell spoke encouragingly of the auspices under which they met, for though the attendance was small owing to the storm, with the *right*, on the side of *truth*, *one* man was a *host*, when compared with those who defended the wrong. He alluded to the responsibility of the American Government for the sin of slavery, and urged the complicity of every loyal citizen. He also reviewed briefly the position of the political parties, and vindicated the superiority of emancipation, as an end, to mere non-extension.

The Convention then took a recess till half-past 2 o'clock.

Afternoon Session. The Convention reassembled at 2 1-2 o'clock.

Miss Sarah P. Remond took the floor and spoke in vindication of that Christianity which puts in practice the Golden Rule, and that Republicanism which renders operative the living principles of the Declaration of Independence. The inadequacy of our Constitution to afford protection to coloured citizens—free or slave—or even to perfectly protect the white citizen—was demonstrated, and every person called upon to utter their protest—their indignant protest against the colossal sin of the age—American chattel slavery.

Rev. S. J. May called attention to the history of the Anti-Slavery Society—from the first announcement of the principle of immediate and unconditional Emancipation by Mr. Garrison; and took the position that a crisis in which the position of the Society was quite [illegible]t occupied a quarter of a century ago. Al[though] progress was manifest, we were called upon [to take a high]er and greater step in advance of the position held by the mass of anti-slavery minds.

[Mr. Charle]s L. Remond expressed his approval of the [resolutions r]eported by the Business Committee, but he [thought an]other another class of doctrines was not [illegible] There was danger that many would rest [satisfied with] the present condition of the cause. The [illegible] of resolutions did not awaken the attention [of the comm]unity. A response could be found for all [that opposed] slavery, but that which applies a *test*. When [you] direct your attention near home, and apply [it], Rochester is *rotten as punk!* He believed [there was as] much negro hatred here now as there was [illegible]. He would be denied a decent bed at a [illegible]" hotel, and a decent seat in one of the [illegible] as certainly as then. There is a con[illegible] [pre]judice against colour here. As long as this [illegible] could not approve of the state of anti-slavery [illegible] [peo]ple were ready to give money to aid in the [escape of fug]itives, they could vote the Republican ticket [illegible] but they could not stand the application of a [illegible] [th]e true anti-slavery man who takes the stand-[point of the s]lave, and the man or woman who fails to do [so cannot] keep pace with the reform. Liberty in [illegible] [t]o be regarded the same as liberty elsewhere. [If it is] worthy of support anywhere, it is worthy in [Rochester as m]uch as in Virginia. He thought that if it [was right to cu]dgel the black man it was equally right to [cudgel Sum]ner, and he rather enjoyed the blow which [illegible] [rece]ived in an omnibus at Washington, because [it would teach su]ch men the better to appreciate the treatment [of the colour]ed people. He rather enjoyed these things, [and the soon]er they become general the better. So far as [the Free St]ate settlers in Kansas are concerned, he didn't [believe th]ey went there to settle a principle, but to settle [land], and if their interests had not been interfered with [illegible] would have heard so much about them. He [rose to] utter his protest against the miserable prejudice agai[nst] colour in this city. He could not walk with a white female friend in the streets without her losing caste, and he being called an "impudent nigger"! We want [not more ab]olitionists—but more *men* and *women* North of Mason and Dixon's line. We need lanterns in Rochester to s[ear]ch out *men* at noon-day. With the bones of the [Re]volutionary Fathers, nearly all the manhood of the country was buried. He was willing to recognise every [act] that tended to the freedom of the black, but he had yet to learn of any good to the slave from the Republican movement. Not a slave had been emancipated by it. The pulpit and press in Rochester are as time-serving and cowardly now as they were ten years ago. He was not sure but our cause had been hindered by the Republican party. He hoped the plowshare would be run, beam deep, through *this* community, leaving out of sight the cock-fighters and gamblers of South Carolina.

W. L. Garrison here reported the remaining resolutions from the Business Committee, and proceeded to speak of the extent and malignity of the prejudice against colour—an exclusively American prejudice. It was a wonder that the black race endured it as they had. It would be a great thing when this prejudice could be wiped out. But it should be obliterated. And he appealed to the friends of freedom to take special pains to live down and rebuke this false prejudice.

Mr. G. then replied to the charge, so often made against Abolitionists, of *fanaticism*. His fanaticism consisted in standing by the Declaration of Independence, in affirming his love of freedom, his regard for the marriage institution, &c.—this, and no more. Fanaticism was a mad-dog cry.

In conclusion, Mr. G. alluded to the startling fact that all complexional distinctions were done away with at the South. It was no longer necessary to tan the skin and curl the hair of the white slaves, for now the fairer the skin, and the straighter the hair, if the slave was a [illegible] beautiful, the higher her price in market. No [illegible]d is safe now from the kidnappers.

[Vario]us extracts from Southern journals were read in defence of *white* as well as negro slavery.

Rev. Samuel J. May followed, alluding, in terms of severe censure to the property qualification which, in our [illegible] the ballot-box. He [illegible] prejudice against colour and [illegible] coloured people [illegible] of true nobility among the [illegible]

The Convention [illegible] p. m.

[Evening] Session. The Convention was [opene]d by singing an anti-slavery song.

Mr. Remond repeated the invitation before extended, to those differing from this Society, to give the Convention the benefit of their views. He hoped they would not wait till the Convention had risen before giving their criticisms upon the positions taken in and by the Convention.

Mr. Gunnison, of Rochester, responded to the invitation of Mr. Remond by suggesting that multitudes, who were firmly opposed to slavery, felt that more efficient service could be done the slave by perpetuating this Union than by labouring for its dissolution. If we have a sick friend, we are not to desert, but seek to cure him.

Rev. S. J. May was glad this question was fairly before the Convention. It was an important question whether the perpetuity of the Union involved the continuation of the sin of slavery. He presented opinions from able men, North and South, to the effect that the Union supported slavery, and its dissolution would be tantamount to the destruction of the institution. But for himself, while he did not *fear* dissolution, could justice only be done thereby, he still felt unable to see that it was indispensably necessary. He thought the people might, if they would, abolish slavery through the Constitution. They had the power and it was their duty. And he desired to ask Mr. Gunnison if it would not be easier to bring the people to exercise this power under the Constitution than to effect abolition through dissolution. He had no disposition to idolize the Union, and felt that it was well to hold dissolution up to view, but it was a question of expediency which were the better course to take.

Mr. Gunnison thanked Mr. May for his good Republican arguments. His (Mr. May's) position was similar to that of many intelligent persons in the country. He thought injury rather than good would result from sending out the resolution in favour of dissolution.

Mr. May desired to say that if anything would hasten him to the conclusion that the Union ought to be dissolved, it was what had been said in the late campaign by the Republican leaders. He was *shocked* at what Senator Wilson and Speaker Banks had said (cheers). He voted the Republican ticket, but was glad now that party did not succeed, for they were not in a condition to assume the government. They were not yet strong enough to resist the concessions demanded by the Slave Oligarchy. He desired either to make the Constitution what it should be or trample it under foot! (Applause.)

Mr. Garrison said he agreed with Wendell Phillips, that God did not send him into the world to abolish slavery, but to do his duty. Consequences were to be left with God. He denied that the question of dissolution was one of expediency. The people were absolute worshippers of the Union. It was their God! With only expediency to bring them, he should despair of ever reaching them. Every issue they had made was one of complicity with sin. We have never deigned to look at expediency.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to show the pro-slavery character of the Constitution.

Mr. May inquired whether the Constitution was not subject to amendment, and if it would not be easier to *reform* the Constitution than to destroy it.

Mr. Garrison knew of no delay in morals. He knew of no such thing as waiting till a bad thing was made good, meantime pledging allegiance to the evil. To amend the Constitution, three-fourths of the States must unite. How long ere this can be done? The slave States are now a unit. He could not accept of the ground of waiting till some future time to be honest. He could not wait for three-fourths of the States to amend the Constitution, but he must himself amend it, as he did, by putting his heel upon it, as upon a rattlesnake! Our fathers made government a *means*, not an *end*.

Mr. May asked if he (Mr. G.) had no evidence of the growth in the slave States of an anti-slavery sentiment.

Mr. Garrison did not doubt the existence of such a feeling, but he knew of no considerable prevalence at the South of a sentiment regarding slavery as a sin. The States of the South stood before us a unit.

Mr. W. J. Watkins then took the stand and declared himself to be an unadulterated, uncompromising Abolitionist. But there is, said he, a difference of opinion among the friends of emancipation, as to the means to be made use of to accomplish abolition. Could I see that the Constitution is a "covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," I should so declare it, and trample it under foot. But it is easier to *call* it such, than to *prove* it to be so.

He held that the Constitution, viewed in the light of the rules of legal interpretation, is an anti-slavery document. Not that such was the opinion or intention of the framers, but such we find it.

Mr. Garrison—Does our friend mean to say that the intent and meaning of a compact is not to be considered? Should not the construction of the framers be adhered to?

Mr. Watkins thought not. If the tyrant omitted any clause necessary to secure his part of the compact, we are at liberty to take advantage of it. He held that it was an insult to the coloured population to hold that they were not included in the "we" of the Constitution. You cannot ignore the coloured man. For the government was instituted to secure the blessings of liberty to "ourselves"—that is, the framers, white people, and "our posterity"—that at least included three-fourths of the slaves of Virginia! (Applause.)

Even if we believed that the clause which has been rendered as justifying the rendition of slaves was intended to signify slaves, yet as it does not properly describe them, we are not bound by it. He thought the American Anti-Slavery Society too prone to go forward to the relief of the Slave Power, by claiming their own interpretation of this phrase to be the true one. This was the great fault he found with the party.

Were the spirit of the Constitution carried out, there would be no slaves. "No person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law." "The privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended." Put these two clauses together, and "Othello's occupation is gone." The simple provision relative to *habeas corpus*, if adhered to, would set every slave free. We are told that the dissolution of the Union would result in the extinction of slavery. I honestly think not. And even were this to be the result, the condition of the thousands escaping to the North would be little improved by reason of the prejudice against colour so virulent here. He could not think the dissolution of the Union the best thing for the slave.

Mr. Garrison desired to inquire if Mr. W. used the term "Union" in the sense in which it was commonly employed and understood.

Mr. Watkins replied that he intended to use language in no captious spirit. He believed there was and could be no union between Freedom and Slavery (applause). Only carry out that Constitution which was ordained to secure the blessings of liberty, and which the American people love and revere, and slavery will cease.

Mr. Remond—Will Mr. Watkins tell us what kind of anti-slavery men he considers those men who framed the Constitution, and remained slaveholders till death?

Mr. Watkins replied that there was not as much light then as now, and we need not necessarily impeach the moral honesty of those men. There are those even now who will attempt to prove from the Bible that slavery is right, and there might have been such men then.

Mr. Remond—Will Mr. Watkins tell us whether he believes George Washington to have been a hypocrite, or not?

Mr. Watkins—I *do* believe Mr. Washington to have been a hypocrite. This is my private opinion, for the first time publicly expressed.

After further conversation between Messrs. Garrison, Remond and Watkins, the Convention adjourned till Wednesday at 10 1-2 o'clock, a. m.

SECOND DAY.

Morning Session.—The session opened with an anti-slavery song.

Mr. May reiterated his inability to perceive the necessity of dissolution to accomplish the work of emancipation. He could not see how it was to separate the anti-slavery from the pro-slavery sentiment. He felt that acting under the Constitution did not involve or imply an assent to anything wrong in the construction of it. No compact, agreement or oath could impose an obligation to do wrong. He believed that good was done by sending anti-slavery men to Congress. When the people become anti-slavery, the Constitution will be anti-slavery.

Mr. Garrison expressed the opinion that great patience should be felt towards others who failed to perceive the necessity for dissolution, when so firm a friend of the slave as Mr. May occupied the same position of doubt (hear, hear). He said the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society was to make the North anti-slavery. So long as the North is pro-slavery, the Northern Church pro-slavery, there will be no dissolution. But we are labouring for and expecting a change. The oath to support the Constitution covers an immorality. Hence a man cannot do right and take that oath.

A. M. Powell was disposed to look with less favour upon the Republican party than his friend, Mr. May. He would recognise fully the merits of the issue presented by that party, the non-extension of slavery. But his standpoint of observation was from the position of the *slave*, and, as one with those in bonds, he felt himself outraged and wronged by the present attitude of the party. The Republican party "goes for the Union, *even with slavery* sanctioned by that Union," says one of the leading organs in its support, in Pennsylvania. Mr. Powell read from an article in the New York *Tribune*, the great mouth-piece of the party, declaring that it is not its intention to emancipate slaves, nor to benefit the condition of the African race, but *only* to restrict the spread of slavery. From its own testimony, as given us by its chosen organs, and the leading members authorized to speak in its behalf, may we show the position of this party to be one of hostility to the slave. Mr. Powell continued to read from leading Republican journals, and from the addresses of its prominent advocates, extracts defining the position of the party and defending it from the charge of abolitionism. He referred to the platform that the "Union must and shall be preserved," and spoke of the purpose of the party to bring back the Government to the position in which Washington and Jefferson left it. He proceeded to speak of Washington's position respecting the restoration of fugitives, and cited the case of his attempt to kidnap his runaway slave woman.

Mr. Bloss—But he did not get her!

Mr. Garrison—No, because of the breeze it created.

It is notorious of Jefferson, said Mr. Powell, that he was not only a slaveholder, but that his own children have been exposed for sale in the slave market. Members of the Republican party tell us of the value of the Union to the slaveholders and that the security of their slave property depends upon its preservation, and then add their willingness and determination to preserve the Union at all hazards. We ask and demand the immediate dissolution of the slaveholding Union. And do you ask where you should draw the line? With Francis Jackson, I would say to you, "draw it around yourselves." The world is greatly in need of *men* and *women*, such as will not worship at the shrine of the "Union" and Slavery, but have rather true reverence for God and humanity. Republicans find the Union of little worth to themselves south of Mason and Dixon's line. Not a soul of them dare distribute Sumner's and Seward's speeches in the streets of Charleston. There is already a crack in the Union, and the work of separation will go on.

Mr. J. W. Stebbins took the floor and occupied the time, in defence of the Republican party, till the hour of recess.

Afternoon Session.—Mr. J. W. Stebbins resumed his remarks in defence of the anti-slavery purposes of the Republican party, and the anti-slavery character of the Constitution. The error of those who conceive that instrument to be a pro-slavery document, is in considering it a paper of unlimited power. It was far from this. To the extent of its power it is anti-slavery, and is so regarded by the body of the Republican party. The representation allowed for slaves was a recognition that they were *persons*, not *property*. It was a foul wrong allowing them but three-fifths representation, but it was, on the whole, a compromise against slavery, not for it. There is not a clause in the whole document which, fairly construed, recognises the institution of slavery in any shape. It was framed to secure the blessings of liberty to *all*, of whatever colour. He regretted that anti-slavery men should occupy the same ground respecting the Constitution, as that occupied by the pro-slavery extremists of the South. He firmly believed the hope of the slave rested in the Union. Washington had been alluded to as a slaveholder. No man was perfect. Even the sun had spots on its surface, but he must say that Washington was, for the time in which he lived, the model man of the world. Mr. S. concluded his remarks by alluding to the "Bible argument," and the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church respecting slavery, which he claimed to be anti-slavery.

Miss Anthony here made a stirring appeal in behalf of the Finance Committee, calling upon Abolitionists, Republicans, and pro-slavery Democrats to aid in carrying on the work of anti-slavery agitation. Those of all parties owe much to this movement, and by furnishing the means for still carrying on the work, will secure their own elevation to still higher ground.

Mr. Garrison then addressed the Convention upon the constitutional question, and in support of the motto—"No Union with Slaveholders!"

He entered upon a detailed history of the framing of the Constitution, and the intents and purposes of those engaged in its preparation. It was morally impossible for the people of this country to make an anti-slavery Constitution with their pro-slavery principles. A stream cannot rise higher than its source. From such a devilish heart an anti-slavery Constitution could not come.

To show the good resulting from radical anti-slavery effort, he stated what he had observed to be a fact, that in those sections of the country where disunion sentiments were strongest, John C. Fremont received the heaviest vote. Massachusetts and the Western Reserve of Ohio were the best abolitionized portion of the country, and they send the best representatives to Congress. So long as this high standard is held up, men will be drawn up out of the parties. The Republican party made an issue with slavery, for that he thanked God. That party was evidence of growth—growth as a result of abolition effort. Where this effort has not been expended, there is moral darkness. He told Senator Wilson after the election that the reason Fremont was defeated was because there had not been enough radical abolitionism in the State of Pennsylvania. To this Mr. Wilson gave his assent.

Mr. Sam'l D. Porter (of Rochester) here desired to present three propositions embracing the constitutional question for discussion this evening. He proceeded at some length to state his propositions, defining his position to be that of firm belief in the anti-slavery character of the Constitution.

He was followed by Mr. Garrison in a few remarks, when

Mr. Remond asked permission to detain the audience while he presented a fact that had recently come to his knowledge. It was known that the opposition had occupied the greater part of the time during the afternoon session. The object of these meetings was discussion, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses, which in the case of this meeting could not be less than $75, a collection had been taken up. When Mr. Samuel D. Porter, who sees eye to eye with some of the opposition, was called upon, he said he had nothing to give, and yet in a few moments he rises and proposes questions to occupy the time of the remainder of the Convention. If this was not coolness, he had yet to learn what belonged to an iceberg! He only mentioned it to show the class of mind they were forced to deal with.

Mr. R. then proceeded to argue briefly, from the standpoint of the slave, in behalf of universal freedom. He asked simply equality upon his manhood, not upon his colour. He asked the Republicans of Rochester to take their anti-slavery Constitution and go South and reclaim the young man, for whose purchase a subscription was now being circulated in this city, who was a native born citizen of the Empire State!

If those who held the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution would give him *one single* case in which they had made use of it to liberate a slave, he would show them a hundred where slaves had been reclaimed under that Constitution.

He could not desire to curse any man, but if it could be, he should be glad to have Samuel D. Porter, who he believed was intelligent upon the subject of slavery—which was more than he could say of Mr. Stebbins—he should like to have Mr. Porter awake to-morrow morning with his (Mr. Remond's) complexion! If that did not change his views of slavery, and an anti-slavery Constitution, nothing would.

Recess to 7 1-2 p. m.

Evening Session.—Mr. A. M. Powell took the floor upon the opening of the session to discuss the religious aspect of the cause. He gave an accurate and faithful and hence severe portrayal of the position of the American Church upon slavery.

First, said Mr. P., we believe that liberty is the divine right of every human being. That true religion does not sanction slavery. All religion, therefore, that does sanction or apologize for slavery must be false and spurious and should be repudiated. We are called enemies of religion, infidels, &c. We are enemies of a slaveholding religion—a religion which sanctions or apologizes for the "sum of all villanies." The churches at the South are fully committed to the support of slavery. They sell their own members on the auction-block, for gold, with which to purchase Bibles, to support their ministers, to maintain missionary operations, &c. Churches at the North are, to a great extent, in religious fellowship with those of the same denomination at the South. Take, as an illustration, the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. P. here read from the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery, whereas slaveholders are recognised as "approved brethren" in every respect, save that they may not be elevated to "official station" in the church.

Suppose Methodists were to endorse and fellowship sheep-thieves as they now do slaveholders, or man-stealers? Would you not pronounce them a "Brotherhood of Thieves?" Such, indeed, they would be; and such they are in the relation they now sustain to the victims of American slavery. But Methodists are no more guilty than are Presbyterians and Baptists and Episcopalians. Through the Government, other denominations, such as Free-will Baptists, Quakers, &c., whose members are not slaves, become responsible as *holders* of slaves. They recognise Border Ruffian Democrats and slave-*holding* Republicans as Christians, and throw the weight of their religious influence on the side of oppression. Take, for instance, the Quakers. I have in mind an influential member of that Church, who, as I am informed, at the late election, voted for James Buchanan, to administer for four years to come, the United States Government, in accordance with the shocking programme indicated in the Cincinnati Platform. And it was only last Spring that this man had a son driven from Virginia, because he presumed, in a Lyceum discussion, to advocate, not the abolition, but the non-extension of slavery. I refer to Francis Ray, a much-respected young man of Chatham, N. Y., whose Card appeared in *The Tribune*, *Evening Journal*, Anti-Slavery Standard and other papers. It is doubtless true that but a small minority of the voters among the Quakers are Border Ruffian, slave-catching Democrats, while the majority are found in the Republican ranks, and as such, politically, they become the "body-guard" of slavery within the States. What would you say of Quakers found in political alliance with *horse-thieves*? And what shall we say when we find them in political alliance with the stealers of men, women and children? Only the Old School Covenanters are exempt from the charge of slave-*holding*. They refuse to be in alliance with a Government which dooms every seventh man and woman to bondage. But members of the Quaker and other Churches aid, through the Government, to hold, buy and sell slaves, and are none the less in "good and regular standing" in their respective denominations.

Mr. P. then referred at some length to the Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies, showing them to be strongholds of the Slave Power.

In conclusion, he quoted from Albert Barnes and other prominent authorities in support of his charges against the American Church, as the bulwark of the slave system. Our motto is, "No Union with slaveholders, *Religiously* or Politically."

Mr. W. C. Bloss, of Rochester, followed in a strain of laudation of the Constitution, and the condition of the National Thermometer when it was framed. He gave way to

Miss Anthony, who made another appeal to the audience for contributions to defray the expenses of this and others of the series of Conventions.

She also made an allusion to the position of the local Church and Ministry respecting the sin of slavery, and suggested that had this been a meeting of the Tract Society and Rev. Nehemiah Adams been advertised to speak, every minister in the city would have been present, whereas with a cause involving directly the temporal and eternal interests of four millions of human beings, a cause attempting the work of carrying the Bible to them, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison advertised to speak, scarce a city minister had entered the door.

Rev. S. J. May said that he, as the only minister on the stand and probably in the Convention, ought to repel the grave charge made by the first speaker (Mr. Powell) against the Church. He must, however, acknowledge that he could not see the fallacy of the speaker. He believed the American Church to be the great bulwark of American Slavery. He then referred to the reception of Mr. Garrison by the ministers and churches of Boston, when he first began to speak for the slave. He was denied admission to all the churches, but he said that if no other place was found, he would speak on Boston Common! That spirit of determination to be heard, drew his (Mr. May's) attention, and in the Infidel Hall which was thrown open for him, he heard Mr. Garrison for the first time. The next day was passed in looking over letters written by him to the leading clergymen in the country, urging upon their attention the cause of the slave. From

of those ministers did he receive a kind, considerate ... and there was nothing in one of them to give ...
On the next Sabbath he (Mr. May) made his first ... to the slave from the pulpit, and there was but ... that whole Boston congregation to take him by the ... approve of what he said. That one was Mrs. ... whose earnestness in thanking him for the first ... behalf of the slave she had ever heard from the ... he should never forget.

Garrison expressed his gratification at the fair ... which had been accorded the Convention in ... *Strike, but hear!* They had been heard; the ... if any, were yet to be given. Mr. G. then briefly ... the ground occupied by the Convention, and ... the charge of "Infidelity," so often raised ... them. It was true that in all ages religion had ... against reforms, but the Anti-Slavery Society was ... Anti-Bible or an Anti-Sabbath Society; it was ... *slavery*, nothing more. For twenty-five years it has ... to the Bible as an Anti-Slavery book, and has ... if the Bible sanctioned slavery, it was not of ..., but that part of it at least was from the devil. ... "Infidel" was a cant term, which no manly man, no ... noble man would use. He who made use of it ... go on his hands and knees to Rome and kiss the ... toe! There was no infidelity in Protestantism. ... can be no infidelity when a man is true to himself, ... be his opinions. There were only two grounds ... fidelity, the one involved a violated obligation, the ... want of fidelity to one's own convictions. A man ... to follow his own highest convictions may be ... with infidelity, but not for any mere opinion he ... entertains.

... mere sketch can do justice to Mr. Garrison's con... remarks in behalf of liberality of sentiment, which ... large audience in eager attention till a late hour of ... night, when the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

...UNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

...ded in an article from the pen of the Rev. Dr. ..., on the first page, will be found a preamble and ... lately adopted by the New York Young Men's ... Association, forbidding all discussion and action ... body upon the subject of slavery. The full signi... of this resolution will not be understood unless ... reader is permitted to see the resolution which was ... troduced, and in place of which the former, on ... of Prof. Crosby of the University of New York, ... substituted. Here it is, as presented by Mr. Lasar, a ... German Abolitionist:

...as every organization of Christian men—though outside the ... and separate and distinct from it—associated in the name of ... for the furtherance of his cause on earth, is in a measure like ... church itself, put in trust with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus ... and should seek in all possible ways to bear witness to the ... that Gospel, to promote the progress of its great and funda... principles, and to resist all opposition, particularly that ... organized and formidable, to the progress of those principles ... out the land and the world; and

...as the custom of holding human beings in involuntary ser... converting them thereby into chattels and articles of mer..., involving in their purchase and sale the severance of family ... quiring as a necessary condition of their subjection a denial ... of the ordinary facilities of education, and in many instances ... Word of God—in short, the whole practice of human slavery, ... details and with all its consequences, wherever it may exist, ... ticularly where it exists as an organized institution, recog... and sheltered by the law of the land—is a sin in the sight of ... violation of the principles of the Gospel, and a hindrance to ... gress of Christianity; and

...eas, in the providence of God, one of the chief questions ... occupies the attention of this nation in the present age has ... out of this subject; and while the exigencies of the times de... free and unmistakable utterance of opinion in reference to it; ... the silence itself is interpreted as an opinion; therefore,

...ved, That this Association—in common with other Christian ...—hereby solemnly bears its testimony, for Christ's sake, ... the institution of human slavery, wherever it may exist on ... of the earth, as a violation of the law of God; and against it ... larly as it exists in this enlightened and Christian country, ... ing to shame the principles of Christianity.

...t a body composed to a great extent of the young ... of cotton piety in New York should have been ... into a tempest of agitation by the above temperate ... tion was no more than might have been expected, ... the adoption of the doughface substitute of Prof. ... by only some ten or fifteen majority is not a cir... ance that should discourage the anti-slavery mem... of the body.

... rejected resolution, however, was first introduced ... Brooklyn Association, by Mr. Theodore Tilton, a ... young man, in whose religion freedom and humanity ... fundamental. The Brooklyn body was also terribly ...ed. The discussion ended in the adoption of the ...ving substitute, by a vote of 53 to 38.

...reas certain misrepresentations have appeared in the news... press touching the opinions and actions of the membership of ... sociation upon the subject of slavery; and

...reas, while we hold that the proper work of this body has no ... connection with the institution of slavery, in its political bear... ... still believe that in view of the false position in which we ... been placed before the public, it becomes us to speak our true ... ents concerning this matter; therefore,

...lved, That we believe the system of American slavery is a ... political and moral evil, and contrary to the spirit of Christi...

...s was a triumph of those who affected a conservative ... moderate anti-slavery policy. Confessing that slavery ... contrary to the spirit of Christianity," they found ... son for expressing their opinion on the subject, not ... wrongs suffered by the slaves nor in the demoraliz... and irreligious tendencies inherent in the system, but ... tain reports affecting their own precious reputations! ... young soldiers of the cross, truly! Even this ... tion, the fruit of a compromise, was exceedingly ... teful to the party opposed to all agitation, and at ... ext meeting (having worked the wires in secret and ... g sure of a triumph) they introduced the following:

...reas this Association was designed and organized for specific ... which, as set forth in its Preamble and Constitution, are "to ... the spiritual, intellectual and social condition of young men, ... ns appropriate and in unison with the spirit of the Gospel" ... combine the Christian influence, and stimulate the piety of ... ung men of this city and vicinity," which objects have hitherto ... the endeavours and united the hearts of its members in fra... bonds; and whereas the agitation of the subject of slavery is ... motive of these objects, but inconsistent therewith and pro... e of evil; therefore,

...olved, That the introduction or discussion at any of our meet... of the subject of slavery, or of any political or sectarian issues, ... levant and foreign to our avowed objects, and a bar to their ... plishment; and we therefore declare them *contraband*, and ... discussion henceforth out of order.

... anti-slavery party, taken generally by surprise, ... the onset bravely. Their first movement was in a ... damaging proposition to amend the resolution by a ... fic declaration that it was *not* intended to prohibit ... for the slave! The irony of this was killing, and ... resolution was finally *defeated* by a vote of 51 to 45.

...e Williamsburgh Association, we understand, is more ... nsively pervaded by anti-slavery sentiment and feel... than those above alluded to. The President, Mr. ...t, on a recent occasion, as we learn from *The Indepen*... reviewed the past history and set forth the present ... dition of the Society, and also discussed the important ... otion of the "legitimate sphere" of a Young Men's ... Christian Association. He took high ground in favour of ... discussion, by such bodies, of the question of Human ... ghts, particularly in its religious aspects; and referred ... terms of strong condemnation to the recent action by ... Association of this city, "forbidding" the introduc... of the subject of slavery into the circles of its de... He said that topics purely political, or even purely ... rsary, could not, with propriety, be brought before such ... ociations, but he knew no reason why the greatest ... stion of the present age, entering, as it does, not only ... politics, but still more into morals and religion, in... ving in its various details almost every principle of ... istianity, should not be discussed in all the Christian ... ociations in the land; particularly as other questions ... ch are in all respects similar, except that they are of ... importance, are never considered "out of order." ... article which appeared in *The Independent* a few weeks ... ce, on "The Legitimate Sphere of Young Men's Chris... Associations," from the pen of Rev. Dr. Cheever, ... quoted by the President, as embodying his own view ... the subject.

It should be mentioned, that the New York Association, ... mediately before the discussion which ended in the ... option of the resolution quoted by Dr. Cheever (declar... the subject of slavery foreign to its *one* exclusive ob..., the promotion of evangelical piety among the Young ... of New York), had listened with apparent interest ... an address, delivered at its own request, by a missionary ... m Natal, upon the condition of the native inhabitants ... Southern Africa! The negroes of the Cape of Good ... pe, it seems, may be legitimately cared for by the ... sociation, they being included in the one object of pro... oting evangelical religion among the Young Men of ... s city; but the slaves of the South are less fortunate, ... pious juvenile cottonocracy being compelled, in their ... alous devotion to their one great purpose, to leave *them* ... the sympathy of reckless fanatics and infidels!

England and the United States.—If we may believe ... statements of the daily press, there is little ground ... hope that the amended Treaty with Great Britain, ... ately negotiated by Mr. Dallas and designed to settle the ... entral American controversy, will be ratified by the ... enate. Great Britain, in relinquishing the sovereignty ... the Bay Islands, having stipulated for the perpetual ... xclusion of slavery therefrom, the Oligarchy find, of ... ourse, an all-sufficient reason for opposing the treaty, ... hile the whole Fillibuster wing of the Democratic party ... hink it important to the success of their schemes that the ... ontroversy should not be settled. Thus does slavery con... rol every issue before the country, not only in legisla... ive and judicial, but also in diplomatic affairs. Great is ... he Union!

KANSAS TO BE A SLAVE STATE.

We might fill columns with interesting details relating to affairs in Kansas, but it is sufficient, for the present, to put on record this pregnant paragraph from the Washington correspondence of *The Tribune*:

"The opinion is very generally entertained here that the late proceedings of the Kansas Bogus Legislature will accomplish the purposes of the invaders and conquerers of that Territory, so far as to create a Constitution establishing slavery. The acts of the Legislature seem to demonstrate that in the Convention to be held under its direction such a Constitution will be adopted. That Constitution will be framed next September, and presented to Congress next Winter for ratification, and for the admission of Kansas as a slave State. Minnesota, which is now ready, and whose admission the House has already voted for, will be kept back by the Senate until that time, when the plan will be to admit them both together. This is the next humiliation to which the free States are doomed by the Oligarchs. Hopes are entertained that the scheme may be in some way frustrated by the terror of the Northern doughfaces, fearing to consummate the original conspiracy against Kansas, but we have every reason to believe from experience that those hopes will prove to be unfounded. The slaveholders rule this Republic with an iron hand, and the Northern Democrats in Congress, now reduced in numbers, are more than ever submissive to their inexorable demands. The only question has been whether the Southern men would not think it the safest policy to permit Kansas to be a free State, and act accordingly; but this idea appears to be gradually fading out. They seem to have determined that it is best to bring the nose of the North to the grindstone at once. As to what Northern Democratic members of Congress, or Northern Democratic newspapers may say on this subject, it is not of the least consequence. In the first place they don't know what the Southern leaders have determined upon, and without this knowledge their statements are valueless. They have no functions in the matter except to carry out and defend the policy that is dictated to them by those leaders. This they will do as they have done hitherto."

The writer of the above is Mr. James S. Pike, one of the shrewdest politicians in the United States, and who is rarely mistaken in his forecasting of events. The slaveholders are playing their game with consummate skill, while the Republicans, by their lack of moral penetration, their want of pluck, and their ostentatious and stupid proclamation of unconditional allegiance to the Union, are utterly incapacitated to resist the gigantic wickedness. So long as the preservation of the Union is regarded by the North as the paramount consideration, and that doctrine is blindly assented to even by the party which professes to grapple with the slavery question, no *vital* issue with the Oligarchy can be made, and the latter, assured of ultimate submission on the part of the former, has only to press its schemes of villany and gain an easy victory by methods in which long experience has made it an adept. What if Kansas does apply for admission to the Union as a slave State, and what if the Northern Democracy does give the slaveholders the votes they need to secure its admission? What have they to fear? Do they not know that your Wilsons, your Sewards, your Hales and your Trumbulls will quietly submit, and continue to sing pæans to the Union as the source of every political blessing, the grand embodiment of all that is good in heaven and upon earth?

The House of Representatives, on Tuesday, passed Grow's bill repealing all the bogus laws of Kansas, declaring the present Territorial Legislature spurious and providing for a new election. The Senate will of course refuse to concur. The vote on the bill in the House was 99 in the affirmative to 79 in the negative. A separate vote was taken on the preamble of the bill, declaring unjust and unwarranted the test oaths prescribed for voting or holding offices in Kansas; and that the House Committee of Investigation report that the Legislature was not elected by legal voters, but was forced upon them by non-residents in violation of the organic act of the Territory, and having thus usurped legislative power, it enacted cruel and oppressive laws. Adopted, by 95 against 68.

Probably a Hoax.—In The Standard of August 16th, 1856, we called the attention of our English friends to the following paragraph from the *Pensacola* (Florida) *Democrat* of July 24th:

"The English ship Sarah, bound to Barcelona, which was towed out over the bar on Sunday last by the Cuba, returned day before yesterday and made signs for a pilot outside. After having gone about a hundred miles, the captain discovered a negro man, who had secreted himself on board. He was taken charge of by one of our pilots and brought to the city. This we consider very handsome conduct on the part of the captain, especially as he had suffered much annoyance from the desertion of his own crew while here, from the lack of sufficient legal aid in recovering the deserters."

In the [London] *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for February, which has just come to hand, we find the following letter, which gives us reason to hope that the story of the Florida journal was a miserable hoax:

To the Editor of The Anti-Slavery Advocate.

Dear Sir: In The Anti-Slavery Standard of August 16th, 1856, a paragraph is to be found, headed "A British Brute"; and sure enough the title had been well bestowed, had the facts turned out in conformity with the sentiments arising so naturally out of a statement so disgusting, and so thoroughly anti-English.

Illness alone prevented my earlier taking any public notice of the facts alleged in that paragraph; but the moment I was able to hold a pen, I addressed some anxious inquiries through L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society in London, who, at my instance, very kindly and promptly made the necessary inquiries at Lloyds, for the captain's name and other particulars affecting the ship "Sarah." But it is right that our American friends should know that hitherto no clue whatever has been found to enable us to trace the delinquent, if delinquent there be, and that to all present appearance the affair is more like a hoax than anything else. British sympathy with the holders of slaves there may possibly be, for we have bad men of all complexions of party among us; but the audacity of sympathy which could suggest to an Englishman with British blood in his veins, and a British heart in his body, to restore to his chains a captive who had taken refuge in his ship, is happily a moral phenomenon of but rare, if possible, occurrence among the Britishers on this side the Atlantic—slow fellows, who do not know how to go ahead!

Yours ever, among the watchers on the tower of true freedom, G. Armstrong.

Bristol, January 16th, 1857.

United States Senators.—The Republicans in the Senate of Indiana, having control of that body, refused to meet the House in Joint Convention for the choice of U. S. Senators. In taking this course they only followed the example set them by the Democrats at the previous session, when, if the latter had not refused to go into Convention, a Republican U. S. Senator would have been chosen. The Buchanan Democracy being thus blocked by the very game which they had themselves inaugurated, held a sham Convention and elected to the Senate Jesse D. Bright for the long and Graham N. Fitch for the short term. Gov. Willard made himself a party to the fraud by giving them certificates in due form, and Mr. Fitch was, a few days since, allowed to take his seat. Mr. Bright will be permitted to do the same thing after the fourth of March. If, after an investigation, the Senate shall oust them, Gov. Willard will treat the vacancies as "occurring during the recess of the Legislature," and then reappoint them both! This fraud was deliberately planned, and will in probability be sanctioned by the majority of the U. S. Senate.

The Legislature of California has elected D. S. Broderick U. S. Senator for six years from the fourth of March next, and Dr. Gwin to serve the balance of the unexpired term. The election of Broderick is set down as a triumph of the *Northern* over the *Southern* wing of the Democracy of California. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"I greatly regret Gwin's election. He is the perfect embodiment of Chivalry, and I have no doubt will largely influence his colleague in Washington. On the other hand, had Latham been elected, Broderick would probably have exercised an influence over him; which, exerted as his friends claim it will be, might favour the cause of freedom and free soil. It must be conceded that Mr. Broderick is about the only professed politician in the State who has dared to raise his voice against the assumptions of slavery. This he did in the first session of our California Legislature; and again, while the California State Fugitive Slave law was under consideration, he opposed it almost single-handed most determinedly, but unfortunately without success, as it passed, and became—shall I say a law?—no, a disgrace to our statute-book. He is also said to have been mainly instrumental in defeating the plans of a Southern clique, some four years ago, whose aim was to divide the State, and admit slavery to the southern portion of it. These were good services, and I am not without hope that Mr. Broderick may yet distinguish himself as a champion of freedom, but I am afraid of Gwin's influence, and the trammels of party."

Gwin, it is said, owes his election entirely to the mercy of Broderick, who required him to pledge himself not to claim any influence over the incoming Administration in the distribution of California's share of the "spoils."

Freedom of the Pulpit.—The Rev. J. S. Edwards, of Jerseyville, Ill., having preached a sermon on the Kansas question, the pro-slavery party tried to induce the Church to pass a resolution of censure. Failing in this, they got together by themselves and passed such a resolution; whereupon the minister came down upon them in a scathing letter which they are not likely soon to forget. Attempts like this to gag the pulpit only serve to reveal the weakness as well as the wickedness of the pro-slavery cause.

A Slave Whipped to Death.—The following account of a case of diabolical cruelty is from the Savannah (Ga.) *News* of Feb. 7th.

"We stated yesterday that Michael Boylan and Phillip Martin had been arrested for the murder of a negro, the slave of the former, named Stepney. An examination was held yesterday before Justices Russell, Hart and Reedy. Doctors Howard, Carlton and Johnson, who made an examination of the body of the deceased, testified that in their opinion the beating inflicted was sufficient to cause death. Several witnesses were examined, the substance of whose testimony was to the following effect: The negro Stepney was a runaway. He was arrested on Wednesday morning by Constable Jones and taken to Mr. Boylan, his owner, who employed the officer to whip him. Constable Jones gave him some thirty lashes with a riding whip or a small cowhide. In the afternoon of the same day, several witnesses saw the negro tied by the hands to a tree, and the prisoner Martin beating him with a heavy trace strap. One witness, Mr. Robert Curry, testified that when he came up to Boylan's place he saw Martin beating the negro in a most cruel manner, while Boylan stood at a short distance looking on. Witness remonstrated with Boylan against the inhumanity of the punishment, when the negro was released and fell to the ground, speechless and prostrate. Martin ordered him to rise, and afterward dealt him several blows with a wagon whip while he lay on the ground insible. Martin then dragged him from the place into the house, where he died on Thursday morning. Sergeant Wilson, of the police, having been notified of the murder, repaired to the place, and found the negro lying upon the floor, his body still warm, and a coffin in readiness for his burial. Returning to the city, he reported the facts to the Solicitor-General, who promptly ordered the arrest of Boylan. Boylan was arrested by the officer, who, learning from the conversation between Boylan and Martin that the latter was implicated in the affair, arrested him also. At the close of the testimony the case was submitted without argument to the magistrates, who committed the prisoners to answer the charge of murder in the Superior Court."

The offence of the poor slave, for which he was thus whipped to death, was that of running away. This, in the eye of the slaveholder, is "the unpardonable sin." The desire for freedom—nay, even that to escape from the clutches of a brute in human form, though there is no chance to break the fetters of bondage—is accounted a crime! We shall see what punishment will be meted out to the slaveholder and his accomplice for this atrocious murder. If the slave had killed his master, there would be no doubt of the issue; but when a master takes the life of his own chattel, he is apt to escape with only a light punishment.

Rev. W. Homes, son of the late Henry Homes of Boston, and formerly pastor of the Union Presbyterian church of St. Louis, has become an associate editor of *The Missouri Republican*, the leading paper of St. Louis, and one of the principal journals of the West. He is a man of active mind and a vigorous writer. We notice with great sorrow that he has recently lost two of his children.—*New York Evangelist.*

The Republican is indeed "the leading paper of St. Louis and one of the principal journals of the West," but *The Evangelist* forgot to add that it is also the open and avowed partizan of Atchison and Stringfellow, and the unblushing advocate of the Border Ruffian crusade in Kansas. It is of such a paper that a "bright consummate flower" of New England Evangelical Orthodoxy, the son of a Boston deacon, a graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, has become "associate editor." If he had avowed the faith in which Channing lived and died, he would be expelled from the pulpit and the Church, but in his double character of clergyman and editor of a pro-slavery journal, he may now come back to New England and be admitted as freely as ever to orthodox pulpits and recognised as a bright and shining light of the evangelical Zion! The anti-slavery religious press of the North will not call *him* an infidel, you may be sure, since that is an epithet which they reserve for Christian anti-slavery men who don't pronounce their shibboleths. Mr. Homes has taken a very natural step from a St. Louis pulpit to a Border Ruffian editorial chair, as natural as that from the instruction of Andover to the pastorship of a slaveholding church. "Just as the twig is bent," &c.

The *New York Evangelist* has a letter from a correspondent in London, who, after alluding to the presence in England of Prof. Morse, the Rev. Dr. Hamlin, the Rev. Mr. Cook (Secretary of the American Tract Society), Mr. Cyrus Field (a New York merchant), and other Americans, thus refers to the important results which he thinks will follow from the intercourse of such men with the people of that country:

"Our English friends are thus in a fair way to find out that there are other things in the United States besides revolvers, fillibusters and slavery, and other men than *Garrisons* and *Brooks*. Let more of the earnest, enterprising, representative men of our country—in the departments of science, literature, art and religion—come: and let them mingle, as they may without any hindrance, with men in kindred departments here. Prejudices will yield. Ultra conservatism—the curse of England—will give way. The practical and the useful will make headway, and both countries will profit by the intercourse."

If anybody is weak enough to suppose that the Jews, in putting Jesus and Barabbas into the same category of malediction (with a difference in favour of the latter), displayed a moral obtuseness that finds no parallel in the present age, we should think that this linking of the name of Garrison, the Christian Non-Resistant, to that of Brooks, the ruffianly assailant of Sumner, in a widely circulated religious journal, might serve to convince him that he has failed to appreciate the malignity of our modern Pharisees, who in this respect are certainly no whit behind their Jewish prototypes.

The Hutchinson Family, we understand, sang to good houses in Philadelphia. On Tuesday evening their friends in New York had the pleasure of hearing them again in the Tabernacle. The audience was large and the sympathy between the singers and the hearers as perfect as could well be desired. The anti-slavery pieces especially were received with great enthusiasm. Judson's queer speeches provoked much merriment, one of them in particular, which was in substance as follows: "I have received a letter from a very pious slaveholder in Georgia, who says he has four boys—bright fellows, almost white—whom he wants to educate at the North; and he requests me to send Commissioner Loring, Judge Curtis, B. F. Hallett and Rev. Nehemiah Adams, to take their places on the plantation while the 'boys' go to school." This was received with a storm of applause, when Judson rose again and added, with a quizzical look, "He (the slaveholder) says he wants to give 'em a 'Southside View.'" The same speech was made in Philadelphia, the only difference being in the use of Judge Kane's name as one of the quartette of slavery defenders whose services are wanted on the plantation.

The Slave Trade.—The Spanish slave-dealers, having met with serious obstacles of late in the prosecution of their business in New York, are said to have adopted New Orleans as their rendezvous. The Havana correspondent of *The Tribune* says: "To my certain knowledge some ten or twelve Spanish vessels have been despatched from there to the coast. Among the American vessels employed in the trade, I will only mention the brig Adams Gray, which was sold here to a Spanish house for $7,000, to be delivered in New Orleans. She, probably, has already received her despatch. The cargo of these vessels consists of lumber, rum, &c., and they all clear regularly for the coast of Africa. Dropping down the river, the vessel is turned over to her Spanish captain, who has probably come on board as passenger. From the large number despatched, and the facility offered to carry on the business, it would appear either that the authorities wink at it or receive some compensation for their services. Many cargoes are now expected daily, most of which have been disposed of to arrive."

Monopoly of a Word.—The telegraphic despatches from Utica having described the Convention of friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society lately held there as a "Convention of *Radical* Abolitionists," the Rev. William Goodell writes to *The Tribune* protesting that the word "Radical" is not properly descriptive of that sort of Abolitionists, having been appropriated by those who believe the Constitution to be anti-slavery and that the National Government has power to abolish slavery in the States! Very modest, certainly! Upon what ground of right Mr. Goodell and his friends presume to appropriate to their own exclusive use a word of such wide significance, we should like to be informed. Such a use of it is purely arbitrary, and as the word is an important one, we must protest against the attempt to monopolize it. Mr. Goodell's party is, no doubt, very radical, but it is not any more so than the American Anti-Slavery Society, and hence has no exclusive right to the word. If they want a word descriptive of their peculiar position in distinction from ours, why not call themselves "Constitutional Abolitionists"? No one, we are sure, would deny their claim to such an appellation.

Lower California.—The last advices from California convey intelligence of an expedition about to be fitted out for the purpose of invading Lower California and wresting it from the hand of Mexico. A force of 1,000 men was said to be formed and ready to proceed to Sonora as soon as they could find a suitable conveyance. The plot, of course, has for its ultimate object the establishment of slavery and the annexation of the territory to "our glorious Union."

The *Christian Press*, the organ of the "American Reform Book and Tract Society" (an orthodox anti-slavery association whose seat of operations is at Cincinnati), copies from the Presbyterian *Christian Herald* a scandalously false attack upon Ralph Waldo Emerson, in which he is declared to be an infidel and an atheist! With all its professions of anti-slavery, the *Christian Press* never applies any such epithets to the "evangelical" defenders of slavery, but however earnestly it may protest against their pro-slavery views, always recognises them as *Christian brethren*. If Mr. Emerson were to avow himself a convert to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, that journal and others of the same stamp (*The Independent* included) would pronounce him a Christian, even though he were to become a defender of slavery from the Bible and the owner of "a plantation and two hundred fat negroes." The epithet "infidel" is reserved by the American Church as a stone to be hurled with deadly aim at those who, without professing the "evangelical" faith, devote themselves to any Christian Reform.

The Gallows.—A bill to revive this barbarous institution is under consideration in the Legislature of Wisconsin. The Milwaukee *Free Democrat* opposes the measure earnestly, and asserts that the per centage of murders has been less since the abolition of the death penalty than it was before. The Janesville *Free Press* says: "Those acquainted with the sentiments of a majority of the members of the Legislature assure us that there is no danger of Wisconsin taking the back track on this question." The leaders in behalf of hanging are the bunker clergy of the State and their followers.

Sugar.—We have read with pleasure and admiration a speech delivered in the United States House of Representatives, on the 5th inst., by Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, in favour of abolishing the duty on foreign sugar. Mr. Colfax shows that the duty is not necessary either for revenue or protection, and that it is an onerous tax upon one of the necessaries of life—a burden resting heavily upon the poor. The speech is a model of lucidness and brevity, is confined strictly to its ostensible subject, and contains no political allusion whatever. Mr. Colfax has been an editor, knows how to say much in a brief space, and to stop when he is done.

Nicaragua.—According to the last accounts, Walker and his band of fillibusters were completely hemmed in by the Costa Ricans and cut off from all chance of receiving reënforcements or supplies. Walker may be temporarily defeated, but we believe that, sooner or later, through *some* instrumentality, the Slave Power will succeed in gaining a foothold in Central America. The slaveholders are desperate, and *one* failure will not turn them from their devilish purpose.

—Since the above was in type we have received later news, highly favourable to Walker.

Music.—Horace Waters, 333 Broadway, has laid on our table the following pieces of music, viz.:

Aurelia Waltz. By F. W. Smith.

Scenes that are Brightest—Ballad in the Opera of Maritana. By W. Y. Wallace.

My Grandma's Advice. Sung by the Tremaine Family.

Mocking Bird Polka. By E. Miller.

Galop from L'Etoile Du Nord. By Charles d'Albert.

The Compositions of Thalberg. From the authentic European copies.

Littell's Living Age.—Contents of No. 665: Apocryphal Gospels; Dr. Kane's Arctic Explorations; The Athelings; A Christmas Tale; Poetry; short articles.

Summary.

The new drama of "Dred" at the Boston Museum, is attracting large audiences and bids fair to obtain great popularity.

Premonitory.—Mr. Buchanan has fully developed the plan of his administration to Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. This unscrupulous Slavery Extensionist's expression of entire satisfaction with the programme of the President elect, foreshadows its character.

Prentice, of the Louisville *Journal*, is author of the following: "We see that the sprightly, though naughty authoress, who calls herself George Sand, has expressed herself very strongly in favour of being burned after her death. If there is truth in the Scriptures, we guess she will have her wish."

The Richmond *Enquirer* desires President Pierce shall visit Virginia, that his "grateful admirers" there may "take him by the hand." At Cincinnati, last June, these "grateful admirers" took him by the throat, and the President has not probably got over the choking yet with the sensations thus produced.

The old "Broadway Tabernacle," the scene of so many sanctified public meetings, political ovations, and strange hetrogeneous gatherings, it is announced, will soon be among the things "that were." Property in this locality has become so valuable that the whole structure is either to be rebuilt or transformed into warehouses. Thus disappears another important "down-town," place of religious worship.

Pro-Slavery Solecism.—The Augusta (U. S.) *Chronicle*, in describing the sale of a lot of niggers, makes the following observation:

They were common negroes—field hands.

Hath a negro, then, hands, or any other members or dimensions, in the opinion of an advocate for bestial slavery? Does he account negroes men? Could he not have had the consistency instead of "hands" to have written "paws?"—*Punch.*

The Rev. Mr. Kalloch.—The Grand Jury of Middlesex County has examined the case of the Rev. Mr. Kalloch, of Boston, and it is understood have found a true bill against him for adultery. He has retained Richard H. Dana and Henry M. Paine as counsel. The witnesses examined by the Grand Jury were Mr. Bayley and Mr. Griffin, proprietors of the Lechmere House, where the alleged indiscretion occurred, Mr. Giddings, the fare-taker on the East Cambridge omnibus line; Mrs. Griffin, wife of Mr. Griffin, proprietor of the hotel, and the Rev. Mr. Holland, the Unitarian clergyman of East Cambridge. The Grand Jury will report on Monday, and the trial will probably occur at once.

Nature of an Oath.—In the County Circuit Court yesterday, a coloured man was on trial for larceny, and a small white boy was called as a witness for the prosecution. The traverser's counsel asked him:

"Boy, do you know the nature of an oath?"

Witness replied: "Yes, sir—to swear agin the nigger."

Traverser's Counsel.—"That will do. Swear him—that is the best definition of a State's witness's opinion of the nature of an oath I ever heard."

A roar of laughter followed from the bar and spectators, and the case proceeded.—*St. Louis Republican, Jan. 14.*

The Women Moving.—In the House of Representatives at Harrisburg, on Thursday, Mr. Purcell presented a petition from thirty ladies of Lewistown, praying for the passage of a law securing to women the elective franchise. A member moved that the petition be referred to the bachelor members of the House, which was adopted. The Speaker appointed Messrs. M'Calmont, Longaker, Backhouse, Hiestand, Haines, Knight, Vickers, Ramsey, Benson, Wagonseller, Westbrook, Calhoun and Eyster. These gentlemen are all bachelors, several past the prime of life, and a portion of them take snuff. It would be well for the ladies who have business with any of the members, to apply to the married portion, who will see that that they are properly attended to.—*Delaware County (Pa.) Republican.*

Negro Catching in Indiana.—*Jeffersonville, Ind., Feb. 7, 1857.*—If our city can boast of nothing more, she can at least boast of one of the most rapacious negro-catching Marshals that this State or any other can afford.

Only a few days ago, he captured in this city, and lodged in the Louisville jail, a negro man—John Tatson—who asserts that he was born free in Virginia, where he was bound out until of age; after which he came to this State, where he has resided more than one year, as an upright working man, and as such is known to many of our citizens. He is now in jail awaiting the clemency of the Christian laws of Kentucky, which, if he is not claimed by some pretended owner, or his friends in Virginia do not intercede for him, he will, doubtless, be sold into slavery.—*Cor. Tribune.*

Elder Jones Brought up all Standing.—Elder Jones, a worthy, but very prosy preacher, was addressing a drowsy congregation one Summer afternoon. He was glad to see that one good woman was not only awake while all were sleeping, but she was melted to tears under the pathos of his discourse. After the services were over, he hastened to join her, and giving her his hand, he remarked, "I observed, my dear friend, that you were very much overcome this afternoon; will you tell me what it was in the sermon that most affected you?"

"O," she replied, "it was not the sermon; I was thinking if my son John should grow up and be a preacher, and preach such a dull sermon as that, how ashamed of him I should be."

The excellent pastor walked on, consoled with the reflection that most of the people were very comfortable under his preaching at any rate.—*Harper's Mag.*

A Proposed Negro Law.—Senator Ely, of Bucks County, has presented to the Legislature a petition with 108 signatures, asking the passage of a general law prohibiting negroes and mulattoes from coming into our State, with a view of acquiring residence. The petitioners, who are from Philadelphia and Bucks Counties, complain that they are subject to trouble and expense in consequence of an influx of fugitive and manumitted blacks; that the former are pursued into this State, and their reclamation attended by mobs and excitement; that superannuated slaves are sent here by their masters to become a charge upon the public or individual charity, while others commit crimes which occupy our courts, fill our prisons and increase our taxes. The petition has been referred to Messrs. Souther, of Elk; Welsh, of York; and Lonis, of Delaware County, as a select committee.—*Bucks County (Pa.) Intelligencer, Feb. 10.*

Dr. Boyle.—We learn by private letters from Washington, that among the friends of the late Preston S. Brooks there exists the greatest dissatisfaction concerning the treatment of that individual, and that it is universally believed he fell a victim to Dr. B.'s utter ignorance of his case. This feeling extends to South Carolina, and it is thought the medical gentleman will soon find it advisable to leave Washington and seek some other field of labour.

Dr. Boyle is the son of an intelligent Irish gentleman who died in Washington a few years since. During the excitement at the capital consequent upon the abducting of a lot of slaves by Captain Drayton, of the schooner Pearl, he was an active member of a committee appointed to wait upon Dr. Bailey, of the *National Era*, and request the removal of his press from the limits of the District of Columbia. With Dr. Bailey's firm and manly course most of our readers are doubtless well acquainted. One of our occasional correspondents, who then resided in Washington, was threatened with a personal attack by Dr. Boyle for his censures upon the conduct of the ultra Southern party on the above occasion.—*Boston Transcript.*

"Education of the Sexes Together."—Miss Susan B. Anthony, of this city, lectured in Corinthian Hall, on Monday evening last, upon the subject of the joint education of the sexes. The lecture was a very excellent one, and well received by the audience, which was not as large as was demanded by the talents of the lecturess, or the importance of the subject so ably presented. Miss Anthony affirmed that there is no difference between the mental and physical characteristics of the sexes; and as their purposes, objects, passions, ends and aims are the same, there should be no difference in their education. Many strong points were made in sustaining this position; and the official Board of Education, who were present, and listened with great attention, must, we think, at least, have been set to thinking, upon the propriety, if not the necessity of educating the sexes together. At the close of the lecture, a resolution was adopted, recommending it to the lecture-going community.—*F. D.'s Paper, Rochester.*

"Prefers Slavery.—Some years since a gentleman of Washington County, Va., Mr. James Reed, died, leaving a provision in his will for the manumission and removal of his slaves at the death of his sister. His sister dying three or four years since, the slaves were set free and removed to Pennsylvania. A few months ago a gentleman received a letter from one of those servants, requesting permission to return to that County and become his slave. He prefers slavery in Virginia to freedom in Pennsylvania, and has had a fair experience in both."—*Richmond Dispatch.*

The Democratic papers of the North are copying the above paragraph, with the evident idea that it is of great weight. It proves the superiority of slavery to freedom about as much as the corresponding fact which occasionally occurs, of a man voluntarily desiring to be sent to jail, proves that imprisonment in a penitentiary is a desirable mode of existence. For one poor wretch, who is willing to return to slavery rather than struggle for existence in a strange land, there are ten thousand who, to escape from slavery, would take their chance of starvation.—*Boston Atlas.*

The Joliffe Case.—Our readers will remember the case of Elijah Willis, of Barnwell District, South Carolina, who arrived in this city in May, 1855, with a female slave and her children, and died while on his way from the steamboat to a hack. They will also remember that he left a will emancipating the slave and her children, making John Joliffe, Esq., of this city, executor, and that when Mr. Joliffe went to South Carolina on business connected with this will, there were rumours that he was not cordially received. A previous will was produced, legal proceedings were instituted, and on the case being tried by a jury, they found a verdict against the will in the hands of Mr. Joliffe. An appeal was taken, and the case came before the Court of Appeals. In December last this Court rendered a decision at Columbia, S. C., reviewing the whole question, and unanimously ordering a new trial. The previous will, which was produced, was executed in 1846, and made Fanning and Phillips executors. The other will was executed in this city, in February, 1854, more than a year previous to his death, and made Joliffe, Harwood, and Ernst its executors, but only Mr. Joliffe qualified; the other two renounced executorship.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

Another Crack in the Union.—Mr. Appleton, of Portland, who is to become sole proprietor and editor of the Washington *Union*, and to do President Buchanan's organ grinding, was formerly an Abolitionist, and once acted as secretary to an abolition society, or meeting, or something of the kind. Really, the Democrats are getting to be abolitionized at a very rapid rate, when they make the editor of their chief paper out of an old opponent of slavery. The *Union* will be in danger, and Choate will have ratted in vain. An awful state of things, truly! We expect to hear of propositions for coalitions between the Democracy and the extreme Abolitionists. There are several eminent gentlemen here who might be found very useful as Mr. Appleton's assistants, and who might support the new Administration on the principle that extremes meet. On second thought, we do not think they would like the associations, and so application need not be made to them. Half the Buchaniers of Massachusetts have been rabid Abolitionists, and would be so again if they could make anything by fighting for freedom instead of against it. It will be impossible for Mr. Buchanan to make New England appointments to office without elevating men who have laboured against the Union—according to the modern Democratic theory and practice.—*Boston Telegraph.*

The Effect of Slavery upon the Poor Whites of the South.—The Hon. Cassius M. Clay delivered a lecture before the Young Men's Central Republican Union, in the Broadway Tabernacle last evening. His subject was, "The Effect of Slavery upon the Poor Whites of the South." After briefly introducing the subject he went on to reason, by analogy and facts, presenting many favourable and forcible comparisons, well sustained by undeniable statistics, showing that the tendency of slavery had ever been and ever would continue to be, opposed to progressive science. He reviewed the conduct of public men in the various States of the Union since the Revolution in 1776, which he characterized as but the beginning of that great revolution which is now going on, and which was likely soon to inaugurate a new and more liberal system of politics, and teach men, of whatever class, their sense of duty to the Republic, and their real dignity as the citizens of a nation gloriously free. He urged upon the young men of the age to work unceasingly in this great movement, as they owed it to their successors, in virtue of the boon they themselves had received at the hands of their fathers. Mr. Clay finished his lecture with a graceful and telling peroration, showing that the development of all true science was attested by its progressive power and its influence over the minds and morals of the universal people.

This address was in no way inferior to any previous effort of Mr. Clay, but was one of those magnificent displays of substantial eloquence which leave the impression of greatness and goodness on the minds of an attentive and appreciative audience. There were over 2,000 persons present.—*Tribune.*

Southern Trade.—There is no reason whatever why the South should not buy *liberally* and pay *promptly* the present year. Cotton, tobacco, rice, and *hemp*, their chief productions, are all *quick* of sale, at high prices. What then is in the way? Nothing but a want of punctuality in making payments, and the practical impossibility of enforcing collections at any other time than the "*spring* of the year," which means January, February, and March. Our merchants are growing more and more unwilling to sell goods on twelve months' credit, for they well know that a note maturing in July, August or September at the South, excepting in a few large cities, is no better than a piece of brown paper. It will, in nine cases out of ten, be protested, even if the parties are good, and must then lie in the pocket-book until spring. It is understood, therefore, that sales made at six months *mean* twelve, and it is also understood that many changes *may* take place before another spring comes round, and that, instead of waiting twelve months for payment, they may be obliged to wait *twenty-four*. The whole credit system at the South is in a wretched condition. It must be reformed, in order to remove the great obstacle to permanent commercial prosperity. Goods sold at retail in the interior, all over the South, are not expected to be paid for in cash. The seller must "wait until spring," and then, if he gets his pay, he is fortunate, for the planter often invests all his money in land and negroes, instead of paying his debts, leaving the merchant to wait a more *convenient season*.—*Independent.*

"District Secretary for the American Board.—Rev. William Warren, of Upton, in this County, formerly of Windham, has received from the American Board the appointment of District Secretary for Northern New England, in the place of Rev. William Clark, resigned.—*Worcester Spy.*

The reverend gentleman alluded to has long been known in Upton and its neighbourhood as a most determined and relentless enemy of the Anti-Slavery cause. He has talked and preached against it with a most unyielding pertinacity, and proved himself a very compliant and thorough-going servant of the slaveholding churches of this country. What a very singular circumstance it is that the American Board of Missions always has the *misfortune to stumble* on one of these pro-slavery gentlemen when it has an office to bestow!

Our readers may remember a good story of the above mentioned minister which went the rounds of the papers a few years since. Soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, a petition to Congress for its repeal was presented to Mr. Warren for his signature. As the feeling in the town was very general and strong against the law, our parson was in something of a quandary, but finally compromised the matter thus—he signed the petition, adding to his name the words, "*Provided all can be done in good faith to the Constitution.*" The next signer of the Petition, with an equally laudable desire not to be misunderstood, appended his name, and to it added these words, "*Provided all can be done in good faith to the Constitution; for I wish to serve God so as not to offend the devil.*"—*Liberator.*

William Wells Brown.—On Sunday evening our eloquent friend William Wells Brown gave a lecture to a large audience in the Town Hall, on the tendency and influence of slaveholding on the white population of the South. He was generally sustained by a hearty welcome, and a kind appreciation of his fitly spoken words. Few can tell so well, so very acceptably, their experience or their convictions. His various stand points of observation, his peculiar ability to discriminate, entitle his opinions on this subject to unusual consideration.

On Monday evening a large audience assembled to hear Mr. Brown recite his Anti-Slavery Drama, "Experience or how to give a Northern Man Backbone." It is truly an amusing performance—happily conceived and successfully executed. The audience testified of their enjoyment by frequent and hearty applause. The continually shifting and changing scenes—thrilling incidents—wit and humour and the animation of the speaker relieve the mind of all monotony.

On Wednesday evening he read his new drama, "The Escape, or a Leap for Freedom." We did not hear it—but those who did, speak well, and admiringly of it.—*A. S. Bugle, Feb. 7.*

Brutal Treatment of Seamen on Board of American Ships.—The London correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, in his letter dated London, Jan. 23, 1857, says:

"In the American merchant service tyranny and brutality appear to have become the rule; in the British service we know it is the exception." Such is the deliberate conclusion to which the Liverpool *Courier* of last week has come to in consequence of some cases which have recently occupied the Liverpool magistrates. "Killing is evidently considered *no murder* on board American ships; we have a fresh proof of this, on an average, about every other week." Such is the language of the Liverpool paper which tries to explain this sad experience by the fact that "American ships are undermanned compared with British ships; hence, the attempt to get more work out of the crews than they can reasonably accomplish, tends to all these deplorable doings." The article winds up with the following words: "The Americans will no doubt look after it for the credit of their country, as the present disgraceful state of things must be, we feel assured, as much deplored on the other side of the Atlantic as it is on this." We wish to direct your attention to these facts, as it is certain that the brutality against seamen on American ships, mostly foreigners or coloured people, which has often come before the public in connection with the Liverpool Police Court, cannot fail to lower the respect in which Americans are usually held in Europe. English Abolitionists connect these facts with the brutalizing effects of slavery on slaveowners, and are therefore ready to believe even the stupid hoax of Mr. Arrowsmith, since they have so often witnessed scenes of stabbing, shooting and flogging in the port of Liverpool, exclusively, or at least mostly, on board of the American merchant vessels. The recent mutiny on board of the James L. Bogart gave an opportunity for these remarks."

Pulpit Degeneracy.—The New York *Journal of Commerce* has an exceedingly dolorous correspondent in this city. If grief were not sacred we could not resist a risible impulse at the way he tilts with his melancholy stylus against our New England clergy. He weeps through the better (or worse?) half of the *Journal's* interminable columns, because so many ministers have stopped preaching about the oppressions of the Israelites, and are using the "sword of the spirit" on the side of a living humanity. He laments that so little is said about Ephesus and Babylon, and so much about Kansas. He relates that several pious "gentlemen have been compelled to abandon for the time attendance upon church, on account of the conversion of their pastors into Republican speech-makers!" "One gentleman, feeling that his pew was useless with such preaching, sold it, and hearing of one pastor in another town and denomination (Rev. Mr. Fosdick, probably) who confined himself to the gospel in his pulpit discussions, sent him $50 towards his support." "These examples refer to preachers of the Orthodox Congregationalists. It is believed that the state of things was worse with the Baptists, and *still worse* among the Methodists." The writer adds that "all the preaching was of the same kind, and to advance a single party. I have heard of no preaching to advance either of the other parties." We think that no one will call his last statement in question.

The disconsolate writer sees but one way of dissolving this worse than Egyptian darkness that rests on the church. It is by "a general bonfire." The letter ends as follows:

"Had my observation been extensive instead of quite limited, the foregoing picture would have been of too dark a hue for the public eye. There should be a veil thrown over much that has transpired in our churches the past year. It is devoutly to be wished, that a general bonfire may be made of the political stuff that has been preached to too patient hearers. Thus shall no future historian of the church, however thorough his researches, be able to print the sad tale of our shame."—*Boston Telegraph.*

Anti-Slavery Agitation in Central New York.—Cortlandville, N. Y., is one of the most *religiously* old fogyish and stereotyped regions that the writer has ever visited; and it has seldom been much disturbed, until of late, by any radicalism or "heresy." The Priests of Theology and Commerce have had an unopposed sway, and the many have been led blindfold by them—both parties sincere, perhaps, but traditional and superstitious. Within a few months past, however, various persons have visited the retired and pleasant place, whose evident mission is to "turn the world upside down," and they have produced a considerable emotion among the elements ecclesiastic. Thomas K. Beecher, Joshua R. Giddings, Beriah Green, and Ralph Waldo Emerson have lectured to us, and have all given the church a *shock* and the community a most healthy infusion of *Humanity*. And the people outside of *Zion* have generally given them a warm response—and some few inside of her who *dare* be free. But Stephen S. Foster has been among us also!—he and Benjamin S. Jones and his wife Mrs. Elizabeth. And though the weather was very cold, the previous arrangements and preparations for them unpropitious, and their meetings small, they created much interest in a limited circle, and left a good impression upon those who had the *independence* to hear them. Had I time I would give a fuller account of their labours, but I have not now. Mr. Jones I had never seen before, but liked him much both as a man and as a speaker. His wife spoke little but yet well. Mr. Foster did in the general region about as usual—at Cortlandville remarkably well, especially on the closing evening. He made an address that was very powerful, and very much admired. It was certainly pleasant for us to meet these true reformers.—w. h. f.—*Prac. Christian.*

The Innocent Convicted.—Late English papers contain an account from Mr. A. Rose, ex-Under Sheriff of London, giving a painful account of the sufferings endured by John Markham—who, being innocent, was yet convicted, and sentenced to four years' penal servitude—before the mistake which had been made in his identity was discovered. He was, says Mr. Rose, two months in Newgate, picking oakum with the convicts, who in this prison are all in one room together—three murderers at one time; pirates who had deliberately planned wholesale massacres, to be accompanied by indescribable atrocities; burglars, garotters, thieves from their birth, receivers, and putters-up of robberies, and the perpetrators of unmentionable crimes. He constantly asserted his innocence; in consequence he was persecuted and tormented by his associates with the most virulent and relentless malignity. It is impossible to narrate the constant outrages perpetrated "on the country-man," as he was called by these felons.

In the course of time Markham was removed to Millbank, in separate confinement, where he was locked up in a gloomy solitary cell, at half past five in the evening, to bed at eight, rise at six in the morning.

He had parted with all his ready money and many of his things for his defence; he had a wife and child; they were utterly destitute; she parted with every stick of furniture and every rag of clothing during his imprisonment, and many a day was without a meal of victuals.

From Millbank Markham was removed to Pentonville, where he was three months in solitary confinement—solitary and separate even in the chapel where each prisoner is enclosed in a wooden box, so that he can see no one but the clergyman; here in the chapel, at the sound of a human voice, the convicts are often affected, faint away, or shriek out. "Why?" Mr. Rose asked Markham. "O, they think of home, or something of that," he replied. At this prison the prisoners wear a mask made of cloth, very hot and very unpleasant.

At length the really guilty man was taken, who admitted that Markham was totally innocent. The touch of nature which makes all mankind kin is not wanting even in crime; this man sent Markham's wife £5, by a mode the most elaborately-circuitous to avoid being traced.

Mr. Rose adds that the poor fellow has no work—no means of getting a living. "People won't believe he was discharged from prison because he was innocent." By the exertions of the Ordinary of Newgate, another man, Martin by name, who had been convicted and sentenced to four years' penal servitude for highway robbery, with violence, at Bethnal-green, was proved to be innocent. "I heard this man tried," said Mr. Rose, "and doubted his guilt. When undergoing his sentence he came under the care of the Ordinary of Newgate; he believed him to be innocent. We ransacked Bethnal-green for three days, and got undoubted evidence that he was not guilty; and moreover discovered who was the guilty man. Martin also was pardoned, and not long since he stood in my office an emaciated wreck of his former self. Before he went to Millbank he said he did n't know his own strength, and could work hard without fatigue the longest day."—*Traveller.*

MARRIED.

Haslam — Whitson: Brinton — Whitson. — In Sadsbury, Lancaster Co., Pa., on the 12th inst., William Haslam, of Penningtonville, Chester Co., to Ann Whitson. Also Cyrus Brinton, of Sadsbury, to Rebecca Whitson. Both by Friends' ceremony, at the residence of the brides' parents, Thomas and Martha Whitson.

Special Notices.

☞ The New York Campaign!—Anti-Slavery Conventions, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the State of New York, as follows:

ELLICOTTVILLE, Cataraugus Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb. 24th and 25th.

To be attended by Stephen S. Foster, Benjamin S. and J. Elizabeth Jones.

New York State Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at ALBANY on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, February 20th, 21st, and 22d at Association Hall, commencing at 2 o'clock, Friday, p. m. Morning Sessions 10½ o'clock, Afternoon Sessions 2½ o'clock, Evening Sessions 7½ o'clock.

Admission to Evening Sessions, 25 cts.; Day Sessions, *Free.*

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LEGION OF LIBERTY.—A new edition of this work (compiled by the late Julius R. Ames, of Albany), which did so much good service in the anti-slavery contest of former years, has just been published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. This edition is larger than any preceding one, and forms a neat volume of 336 pages. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 21 Cornhill, Boston; 138 Nassau street, New York; and 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia. Price, 50 cents.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE DEAD SECRET.

CHAPTER THE FIRST. THE TWENTY-THIRD OF AUGUST, 1829.

"WILL she last out the night, I wonder?"

"Look at the clock, Joseph."

"Ten minutes past twelve! She *has* lasted the night out. She has lived, Robert, to see ten minutes of the new day."

These words were spoken in the kitchen of a large country-house situated on the west coast of Cornwall. The speakers were two of the men-servants composing the establishment of Captain Treverton, an officer in the navy, and the eldest male representative of an old Cornish family. Both the servants communicated with each other restrainedly, in whispers—sitting close together, and looking round expectantly towards the door whenever the talk flagged between them.

"It's an awful thing," said the elder of the men, "for us two to be alone here, at this dead, dark time, counting out the minutes that our mistress has left to live!"

"Robert," said the other, lowering his voice to a whisper that was barely audible, "you have been in service here since you were a boy—did you ever hear that our mistress was a play-actress when our master married her?"

"How came you to know that?" inquired the elder servant, sharply.

"Hush!" cried the other, rising quickly from his chair. A bell rang in the passage outside.

"Is that for one of us?" asked Joseph.

"Can't you tell, by the sound, which is which of those bells yet?" exclaimed Robert, contemptuously. "That bell is for Sarah Leeson. Go out into the passage and look."

The younger servant took a candle and obeyed. When he opened the kitchen-door, a long row of bells met his eye on the wall opposite. Above each of them was painted in neat black letters the distinguishing title of the servant whom it was specially intended to summon. The row of letters began with Housekeeper and Butler, and ended with Kitchenmaid and Footman's Boy.

Looking along the bells, Joseph easily discovered that one of them was still in motion. Above it were the words, Lady's Maid. Observing this, he passed quickly along the passage, and knocked at a large, old-fashioned oak door at the end of it. No answer being given, he opened the door and looked into the room. It was dark and empty.

"Sarah is not in the housekeeper's room," said Joseph, returning to his fellow-servant in the kitchen.

"She is gone to her own room, then," rejoined the other. "Go up and tell her that she is wanted by her mistress."

The bell rang again as Joseph went out.

"Quick!—quick!" cried Robert. "Tell her she is wanted directly. Wanted," he continued to himself in lower tones, "perhaps for the last time!"

Joseph ascended three flights of stairs—passed half-way down a long arched gallery—and knocked at another old-fashioned oak door. This time the signal was answered. A low, clear, sweet voice inside the room, inquired who was waiting without? In a few hasty words Joseph told his errand. Before he had done speaking, the door was quietly and quickly opened, and Sarah Leeson confronted him on the threshold, with her candle in her hand.

Not tall, not handsome, not in her first youth—shy and irresolute in manner—simple in dress to the utmost limits of plainness, the lady's-maid, in spite of all these disadvantages, was a woman whom it was impossible to look at without a feeling of curiosity, if not of interest. Few men, at first sight of her, could have resisted the desire to find out who she was; few would have been satisfied with receiving for answer, She is Mrs. Treverton's maid; few would have refrained from the attempt to extract some secret information for themselves from her face and manner; and none, not even the most patient and practised of observers, could have succeeded in discovering more than that she must have passed through the ordeal of some great suffering, at some former period of her life. Much in her manner, and more in her face, said plainly and sadly: I am the wreck of something that you might once have liked to see; a wreck that can never be repaired—that must drift on through life unnoticed, unguided, unpitied—drift till the fatal shore is touched, and the waves of Time have swallowed up these broken relics of me forever. This was the story that was told in Sarah Leeson's face—this, and no more.

No two men, interpreting that story for themselves, would probably have agreed on the nature of the suffering which this woman had undergone. It was hard to say, at the outset, whether the past pain that had set its ineffaceable mark on her had been pain of the body or pain of the mind. But whatever the nature of the affliction she had undergone, the traces it had left were deeply and strikingly visible in every part of her face. Her cheeks had lost their roundness and their natural colour; her lips, singularly flexible in movement and delicate in form, had faded to an unhealthy paleness; her eyes, large and black and overshadowed by unusually thick lashes, had contracted a strangely anxious startled look, which never left them, and which piteously expressed the painful acuteness of her sensibility, the inherent timidity of her disposition. So far, the marks which [illegible] or sickness had set on her were [illegible] to most victims of mental or physical suffering. The one extraordinary personal deterioration which she had undergone consisted in the unnatural change that had passed over the colour of her hair. It was as thick and soft, it grew as gracefully, as the hair of a young girl; but it was as gray as the hair of an old woman. It seemed to contradict, in the most startling manner, every personal assertion of youth that still existed in her face. With all its haggardness and paleness, no one could have looked at it and supposed for a moment that it was the face of an elderly woman. Wan as they might be, there was not a wrinkle in her cheeks. Her eyes, viewed apart from their sad prevailing expression of uneasiness and timidity, still preserved that bright, clear moisture which is never seen in the eyes of the old. The skin about her temples was as delicately smooth as the skin of a child. These and other physical signs, which never mislead, showed that she was still, as to years, in the very prime of her life. Sickly and sorrow-stricken as she was, she looked, from the eyes downwards, a woman who had barely reached thirty years of age. From the eyes upward, the effect of her abundant gray hair, seen in connection with her face, was not simply incongruous—it was absolutely startling; so startling as to make it no paradox to say that she would have looked most natural, most like herself, if her hair had been dyed. In her case, Art would have seemed to be the truth, because Nature looked like falsehood. What shock had stricken her hair, in the very maturity of its luxuriance, with the hue of an unnatural old age? Was it a serious illness, or a dreadful grief, that had turned her gray in the prime of her womanhood? That question had often been agitated among her fellow-servants, who were all struck by the peculiarities of her personal appearance, and rendered a little suspicious of her, as well, by an inveterate habit that she had of talking to herself. Enquire as they might, however, their curiosity was always baffled. Nothing more could be discovered than that Sarah Leeson was, in the common phrase, touchy on the subject of her gray hair and her habit of talking to herself, and that Sarah Leeson's mistress had long since forbidden every one, from her husband downwards, to ruffle her maid's tranquillity by inquisitive questions.

She stood for an instant speechless, on that momentous morning of the twenty-third of August, before the servant who summoned her to her mistress's death-bed; the light of the candle flaring brightly over her large, startled, black eyes, and the luxuriant, unnatural, gray hair above them. She stood a moment silent—her hand trembling while she held the candlestick, so that the extinguisher lying loose in it rattled incessantly—then thanked the servant for calling her. The trouble and fear in her voice, as she spoke, seemed to add to its accustomed sweetness; the agitation of her manner took nothing away from its habitual gentleness, its delicate, winning, feminine restraint. Joseph, who, like the other servants, secretly distrusted and disliked her for differing from the ordinary pattern (within his experience) of professed ladies' maids, was, on this particular occasion, so subdued by her manner and her tone, as she thanked him, that he offered to carry her candle for her to the door of her mistress's bed-chamber. She shook her head and thanked him again, then passed before him quickly on her way out of the gallery.

The room in which Mrs. Treverton lay dying was on the floor beneath. Sarah hesitated twice, before she knocked at the door. It was opened by Captain Treverton.

The instant she saw her master, she started back from him. If she had dreaded a blow, she could hardly have drawn away more suddenly, or with an expression of greater alarm. There was nothing in Captain Treverton's face to warrant the suspicion of ill-treatment, or even of harsh words. His countenance was kind, hearty, and open, and the tears were still trickling down it, which he had shed by his wife's bed-side.

"Go in," he said, turning away his face. "She does not wish the nurse to attend; she only wishes for you. Call me, if the doctor——" His voice faltered, and he hurried away without attempting to finish the sentence.

Sarah Leeson, instead of entering her mistress's room, stood looking after her master attentively, as long as he was in sight, with her pale cheeks turned to a deathly whiteness—with an eager, doubting, questioning terror in her eyes. When he had disappeared round the corner of the gallery, she listened for a moment outside the door of the sick-room—whispered affrightedly to herself, "Can she have told him?"—then opened the door, with a visible effort to recover her self-control; and, after lingering suspiciously on the threshold for a moment, went in.

Mrs. Treverton's bed-chamber was a large lofty room, situated in the western front of the house, and consequently overlooking the sea-view. The night-light burning by the bed-side displayed rather than dispelled the darkness in the corners of the room. The bed was of the old-fashioned pattern, with heavy hangings and thick curtains drawn all round it. Of the other objects in the chamber, only those of the largest and most solid kind were prominent enough to be tolerably visible in the dim light. The cabinets, the wardrobe, the full-length looking-glass, the high-backed arm-chair, these, with the great shapeless bulk of the bed itself, towered up heavily and gloomily into view. Other objects were all merged together in the general obscurity. Through the open window—opened to admit the fresh air of the new morning after the sultriness of the August night—there poured monotonously into the room, the dull, still, distant roaring of the surf on the sandy coast. All other noises were hushed at that first dark hour of the new day. Inside the room, the one audible sound was the slow, toilsome breathing of the dying woman, raising itself in its mortal frailness, awfully and distinctly, even through the far thunder-breathing from the bosom of the everlasting sea.

"Mistress," said Sarah Leeson, standing close to the curtains, but not undrawing them. "My master has left the room, and has sent me here in his place."

"Light!—give me more light." The feebleness of mortal sickness was in the voice; but the accent of the speaker sounded resolute even yet—doubly resolute by contrast with the hesitation of the tones in which Sarah had spoken. The strong nature of the mistress and the weak nature of the maid came out, even in that short interchange of words, spoken through the curtain of a death-bed.

Sarah lit two candles with a wavering hand—placed them hesitatingly on a table by the bedside—waited for a moment, looking all round her with a kind of suspicious timidity—then undrew the curtains.

The disease of which Mrs. Treverton was dying was one of the most terrible of all the maladies that afflict humanity—one to which women are especially subject—and one which undermines life without, in most cases, showing any remarkable traces of its corroding progress in the face. No uninstructed person, looking at Mrs. Treverton when her attendant undrew the bed-curtain, could possibly have imagined that she was past all rescue that mortal skill could offer to her. The slight marks of illness in her face, the inevitable changes in the grace and roundness of its outline, were rendered hardly noticeable by the marvellous preservation of her complexion in all the light, the delicacy, the brilliancy of its first girlish beauty. There lay her face on the pillow—tenderly framed in by the rich lace of her cap; softly crowned by her shining brown hair—to all outward appearance, the face of a beautiful woman recovering from a slight illness, or reposing after unusual fatigue. Even Sarah Leeson, who had watched her all through her malady, could hardly believe, as she looked at her mistress now, that the Gates of Life had closed behind her, and that the beckoning hand of Death was signing to her already from the Gates of the Grave.

Some dogs'-eared books in paper covers lay on the counterpane of the bed. As soon as the curtain was drawn aside, Mrs. Treverton ordered her attendant by a gesture to remove them. They were Plays, underscored in certain places by ink lines and marked with marginal annotations referring to entrances, exits, and places on the stage. The servants, talking down-stairs of their mistress's occupation before her marriage, had not been misled by false reports. Their master, after he had passed the prime of life, had, in very truth, taken his wife from the obscure stage of a country theatre, when little more than two years had elapsed since her first appearance in public. The dogs'-eared old plays had been once her treasured dramatic library; she had always retained a fondness for them from old associations; and during the latter part of her illness, they had remained on her bed for days and days together.

Having put away the plays, Sarah went back to her mistress; and with more of dread and bewilderment in her face than grief, opened her lips to speak. Mrs. Treverton held up her hand, as a sign that she had another order to give.

"Bolt the door," she said, in the same enfeebled voice, but with the same accent of resolution which had so strikingly marked her first request to have more light in the room. "Bolt the door. Let no one in, till I give you leave."

"No one?" repeated Sarah faintly. "Not the doctor? not even my master?"

"Not the doctor. Not even your master," said Mrs. Treverton, and pointed to the door. The hand was weak; but even in that momentary action of it there was no mistaking the gesture of command.

Sarah bolted the door, returned irresolutely to the bedside, fixed her large, eager, startled eyes enquiringly on her mistress's face, and, suddenly bending over her, said in a whisper:

"Have you told my master?"

"No," was the answer. "I sent for him, to tell him—I tried hard to speak the words—it shook me to my very soul, Sarah, only to think how I should best break it to him—I am so fond of him! I love him so dearly! But I should have spoken in spite of that, if he had not talked of the child. Sarah! he did nothing but talk of the child—and that silenced me."

Sarah, with a forgetfulness of her station which might have appeared extraordinary even in the eyes of the most lenient of mistresses, flung herself back in a chair when the first word of Mrs. Treverton's reply was uttered, clasped her trembling hands over her face, and groaned to herself. "O, what will happen! what will happen now!"

Mrs. Treverton's eyes had softened and moistened when she spoke of her love for her husband. She lay silently for a few minutes; the working of some strong emotion in her, being expressed by her quick, hard, laboured breathing, and by the painful contraction of her eyebrows. Ere long, she turned her head uneasily towards the chair in which her attendant was sitting, and spoke again—this time, in a voice which had sunk to a whisper.

"Look for my medicine," said she. "I want it."

Sarah started up, and with the quick instinct of obedience brushed away the tears that were rolling fast over her cheeks.

"The doctor," she said. "Let me call the doctor."

"No! The medicine—look for the medicine."

"Which bottle? That opiate, or"——

"No. Not the opiate. The other."

Sarah took a bottle from the table, and looking attentively at the written direction on the label, said that it was not yet time to take that medicine again.

"Give me the bottle."

"O pray don't ask me. Pray wait. The doctor said it was as bad as dram-drinking, if you took too much."

Mrs. Treverton's clear, deep grey eyes began to flash; the rosy flush deepened on her cheeks; the commanding hand was raised again, by an effort, from the counterpane on which it lay.

"Take the cork out of the bottle," she said, "and give it to me. I want strength. No matter whether I die in an hour's time or a week's. Give me the bottle."

"Not the bottle," said Sarah, giving it up, nevertheless, under the influence of her mistress's look. "There are two doses left. Wait, pray wait till I get a glass."

She turned again towards the table. At the same instant Mrs. Treverton raised the bottle to her lips, drained it of its contents, and flung it from her on the bed.

"She has killed herself!" cried Sarah running in terror to the door.

"Stop!" said the voice from the bed, more resolute than ever, already. "Stop! Come back, and prop me up higher on the pillows." Sarah put her hand on the bolt. "Come back," reiterated Mrs. Treverton. "While there is life in me, I will be obeyed. Come back." The colour began to deepen perceptibly all over her face, and the light to grow brighter in her widely-opened eyes.

Sarah came back; and, with shaking hands, added one more to the many pillows which supported the dying woman's head and shoulders. While this was being done, the bedclothes became a little discomposed. Mrs. Treverton shudderingly drew them up to their former position, close round her neck.

"Did you unbolt the door?" she asked.

"No."

"I forbid you to go near it again. Get my writing-case, and the pen and ink, from the cabinet near the window."

Sarah went to the cabinet and opened it; then stopped, as if some sudden suspicion had crossed her mind, and asked what the writing materials were wanted for.

"Bring them, and you will see."

The writing-case, with a sheet of note-paper on it, was placed upon Mrs. Treverton's knees; the pen was dipped into the ink, and given to her; she paused, closed her eyes for a minute, and sighed heavily; then began to write, saying to her waiting-maid, as the pen touched the paper: "Look."

Sarah peered anxiously over her shoulder, and saw the pen slowly and feebly form these three words: *To my husband.*

"O, no! no! For God's sake, don't write it!" she cried, catching at her mistress's hand—but suddenly letting it go again the moment Mrs. Treverton looked at her.

The pen went on; and more slowly, more feebly, formed words enough to fill a line—then stopped. The letters of the last syllable were all blotted together.

"Don't!" reiterated Sarah, dropping on her knees at the bedside. "Don't write it to him if you can't tell it to him. Let me go on bearing what I have borne so long already. Let the secret die with you and die with me, and be never known in this world—never, never, never!"

"The secret must be told," answered Mrs. Treverton. "My husband ought to know it, and must know it. I tried to tell him, and my courage failed me. I cannot trust you to tell him, after I am gone. It must be written. Take you the pen; my sight is failing, my touch is dull. Take the pen, and write what I tell you."

Sarah, instead of obeying, hid her face in the bed-cover, and wept bitterly.

"You have been with me ever since my marriage," Mrs. Treverton went on. "You have been my friend more than my servant. Do you refuse my last request? You do! Fool! look up and listen to me. On your peril, refuse to take the pen. Write, or I shall not rest in my grave. Write, or as true as there is a Heaven above us, I will come to you from the other world!"

Sarah started to her feet with a faint scream.

"You make my flesh creep!" she whispered, fixing her eyes on her mistress's face with a stare of superstitious horror. At the same instant, the overdose of the stimulating medicine began to affect Mrs. Treverton's brain. She rolled her head restlessly from side to side of the pillow—repeated vacantly a few lines from one of the old playbooks which had been removed from her bed—and suddenly held out the pen to the servant, with a theatrical wave of the hand, and a glance upward at an imaginary gallery of spectators.

"Write!" she cried, with a hollow, awful mimicry of her old stage voice. "Write!" And the weak hand was waved again with a forlorn, feeble imitation of the old stage gesture.

Closing her fingers mechanically on the pen that was thrust between them, Sarah, with her eyes still expressing the superstitious terror which her mistress's words had aroused, waited for the next command. Some minutes elapsed before Mrs. Treverton spoke again. She still retained her senses sufficiently to be vaguely conscious of the effect which the medicine was producing on her, and to be desirous of combating its further progress before it succeeded in utterly confusing her ideas. She asked first for the smelling-bottle, next for some Eau de Cologne. This last, poured on to her handkerchief, and applied to her forehead, seemed to prove successful in partially clearing her faculties again. Her eyes recovered their steady look of intelligence; and when she again addressed her maid, reiterating the word "Write," she was able to enforce the direction by beginning immediately to dictate in quiet, deliberate, determined tones. Sarah's tears fell fast; her lips murmured fragments of sentences in which entreaties, expressions of penitence, and exclamations of fear were all strangely mingled together; but she wrote on submissively, in wavering lines, until she had nearly filled the two first sides of the note paper. Then Mrs. Treverton paused, looked the writing over, and, taking the pen, signed her name at the end of it. With this effort, her powers of resistance to the exciting effect of the medicine, seemed to fail her again. The deep flush began to tinge her cheeks once more, and she spoke hurriedly and unsteadily when she handed the pen back to her maid.

"Sign!" she cried, beating her hand feebly on the bed-clothes. "Sign Sarah Leeson, witness. No!—write accomplice. Take your share of it; I won't have it shifted on me. Sign, I insist on it! Sign as I tell you."

Sarah obeyed; and Mrs. Treverton, taking the paper from her, pointed to it solemnly, with a return of the same sad gesture which had escaped her a little while back.

"You will give this to your master," she said, "when I am dead; and you will answer any questions he puts to you as truly as if you were before the judgment-seat."

Clasping her hand fast together, Sarah regarded her mistress, for the first time, with steady eyes, and spoke to her for the first time in steady tones.

"If I only knew that I was fit to die," she said, "O, how gladly I would change places with you!"

"Promise that you will give the paper to your master," repeated Mrs. Treverton. "Promise—no! I won't trust your promise: I'll have your oath. Get the Bible the clergyman used when he was here this morning. Get it, or I shall not rest in my grave. Get it, or I will come to you from the other world."

The mistress laughed, as she reiterated that threat. The maid shuddered, as she obeyed the command which it was designed to impress on her.

"Yes, yes—the Bible the clergyman used," continued Mrs. Treverton, vacantly, after the book had been produced. "The clergyman—a good, weak man—I frightened him, Sarah. He said, 'Are you at peace with all the world?' and I said, 'All but one.' You know who."

"The Captain's brother. O, don't die at enmity with anybody. Don't die at enmity even with him," pleaded Sarah.

"The clergyman told me that," said Mrs. Treverton, her eyes beginning now to wander childishly round the room, her tones growing suddenly lower and more confused. "'You must forgive him,' the clergyman said. And I said, 'No. I forgive all the world, but not my husband's brother.' The clergyman got up from the bedside, frightened, Sarah. He talked about praying for me, and coming back. Will he come back?"

"Yes, yes," answered Sarah. "He is a good man—he will come back—and O! tell him that you forgive the Captain's brother! Those vile words he spoke of you, when you were married, will come home to him some day. Forgive him—forgive him before you die!"

Saying those words, she attempted to remove the Bible softly out of her mistress's sight. The action attracted Mrs. Treverton's attention, and roused her sinking faculties into observation of present things.

"Stop!" she cried, with a gleam of the old resolution flashing once more over the dying dimness of her eyes. She caught at Sarah's hand with a great effort, placed it on the Bible, and held it there. Her other hand wandered a little over the bed-clothes, until it encountered the written paper addressed to her husband. Her fingers closed upon it; and a sigh of relief escaped her lips. "Ah" she said. "I know what I wanted [illegible] now. I'm dying with all my [illegible] about [illegible] can't deceive me yet." She [illegible] again [illegible] whispered to herself rapid[illegible] Wait, wait [illegible] added aloud, with the old [illegible] gesture again: "No! I w[illegible] I'll have your oath. Knee[illegible] The[illegible] words in this world—disobe[illegible] you [illegible]"

Sarah dropped on her knees by the bed. [illegible] outside, strengthening just then with the slow advance of the morning, parted the window-curtains a little, and wafted a breath of its sweet fragrance joyously into the sick-room. The heavy-beating hum of the distant surf came in at the same time, and poured out its unresting music in louder tones. When the window-curtains fell to again heavily, the wavering flame of the candle grew steady once more, and the awful silence in the room sank deeper than ever.

"Swear," said Mrs. Treverton. Her voice failed her when she had pronounced that one word. She struggled a little, recovered the power of utterance, and went on: "Swear that you will not destroy this paper, after I am dead."

Even while she pronounced those solemn words, even at that last struggle for life and strength, the ineradicable theatrical instinct showed, with a fearful inappropriateness, how firmly it kept its place in her mind. Sarah felt the cold hand that was still laid upon her lifted for a moment—saw it waving gracefully towards her—felt it descend again, and clasp her own hand with a trembling, impatient pressure. At that final appeal, she answered faintly:

"I swear it."

"Swear that you will not take this paper away with you, if you leave the house, after I am dead."

Again, Sarah paused before she answered—again the trembling pressure made itself felt on her hand, but more weakly this time, and again the words dropped affrightedly from her lips—

"I swear it."

"Swear," Mrs. Treverton began for the third time. Her voice failed her once more; and, now, she struggled vainly to regain the command over it. Sarah looked up, and saw signs of convulsions beginning to disfigure the beautiful face—saw the fingers of the white, delicate hand getting crooked as they reached over towards the table on which medicine-bottles were placed.

"You drank it all," she cried, starting to her feet, as she comprehended the meaning of that gesture. "Mistress, dear mistress, you drank it all—there is nothing but the opiate left. Let me go—let me go and call——"

A look from Mrs. Treverton stopped her before she could utter another word. The lips of the dying woman were moving rapidly. Sarah put her ear close to them. At first she heard nothing but panting, quick-drawn breaths—then a few broken words mingled confusedly with them:

"I hav'n't done—you must swear—close, close, close, come close—a third thing—your master—swear to give it——"

The last words died away very softly. The lips that had been forming them so laboriously parted on a sudden and closed again no more. Sarah sprang to the door, and opened it, and called into the passage for help—then ran back to the bedside, caught up the sheet of note-paper on which she had written from the mistress's dictation, and hid it in her bosom. The last look of Mrs. Treverton's eye's fastened sternly and reproachfully on her as she did this, and kept their expression, unchanged, through the momentary distortion of the rest of the features, for one breathless moment. That moment passed, and, with the next, the shadow that goes before the presence of death, stole up, and shut out the light of life, in one quiet instant, from all the face.

The doctor followed by the nurse and one of the servants, entered the room; and, hurrying to the bedside, saw at a glance that the time for his attendance there had passed away forever. He spoke first to the servant who had followed him.

"Go to your master," he said, "and beg him to wait in his own room until I can come and speak to him."

Sarah still stood—without moving, or speaking, or noticing any one—by the bedside.

The nurse, approaching to draw the curtains together, started at the sight of her face, and turned to the doctor.

"I think this person had better leave the room, sir?" said the nurse, with some appearance of contempt in her tones and looks. "She seems unreasonably shocked and terrified by what has happened."

"Quite right," said the doctor. "It is best that she should withdraw. Let me recommend you to leave us for a little while," he added, touching Sarah on the arm.

She shrank back suspiciously, raised one of her hands to the place where the letter lay hidden in her bosom, and pressed it there firmly, while she held out the other hand for a candle.

"You had better rest for a little in your own room," said the doctor, giving her a candle. "Stop though," he continued, after a moment's reflection. "I am going to break the sad news to your master, and I may find that he is anxious to hear any last words that Mrs. Treverton may have spoken in your presence. Perhaps you had better come with me, and wait while I go into Captain Treverton's room."

"No! no! oh, not now—not now, for Heaven's sake!" Speaking those words in low, quick, pleading tones, and drawing back affrightedly, during their utterance, to the door, Sarah disappeared, without waiting a moment to be spoken to again.

"A strange woman," said the doctor, addressing the nurse. "Follow her, and see where she goes to, in case she is wanted and we are obliged to send for her. I will wait here until you come back."

When the nurse returned she had nothing to report, but that she had followed Sarah Leeson to her own bed-room—had seen her enter it—had listened outside and had heard her lock the door.

"A strange woman!" repeated the doctor. "One of the silent, secret sort."

"One of the wrong sort," said the nurse. "She is always talking to herself, and that is a bad sign, in my opinion. I don't like the look of her. I distrusted her, sir, the very first day I entered the house.—*Dickens's Household Words.*

THE SONG OF STEAM.

HARNESS me down with your iron bands;
Be sure of your curb and rein,
For I scorn the power of your puny hands
As the tempest scorns a chain.
How I laughed, as I lay concealed from sight,
For many a countless hour,
At the childish boast of human might,
And the pride of human power.

When I saw an army upon the land,
A navy upon the seas,
Creeping along, a snail-like band,
Or waiting the wayward breeze;
When I marked the peasant faintly reel
With the toil that he daily bore,
As he feebly turned the tardy wheel,
Or tugged at the weary oar.

When I measured the panting courser's speed;
The flight of the carrier dove,
As they bore the law a king decreed,
Or the lines of impatient love;
I could not but think how the world would feel,
As these were outstripped afar,
When I should be bound to the rushing keel,
Or chained to the flying car.

Ha! ha! ha! they found me at last;
They invited me forth at length,
And I rushed to my throne with thunder blast,
And laughed in my iron strength.
Oh! then ye saw a wondrous change
On the earth and ocean wide,
Where now my fiery armies range,
Nor wait for wind or tide.

Hurrah! Hurrah! the waters o'er
The mountain steep decline;
Time—space—have yielded to my power—
The world! the world is mine!
The rivers the sun hath earliest blest,
Or those where his beams decline—
The giant streams of the queenly West,
Or the ocean floods divine.

The ocean pales where'er I sweep,
To hear my strength rejoice,
And the monsters of the briny deep
Cower, trembling at my voice.
I carry the wealth and the lord of the earth,
The thoughts of the god-like mind;
The wind lags after my flying forth,
The lightning is left behind.

In the darksome depths of the fathomless mine,
My tireless arm doth play,
Where the rocks never saw the sun decline,
Or the dawn of the glorious day.
I bring earth's glittering jewels up
From the hidden cave below,
And I make the fountain's granite cup
With crystal gush overflow.

I blow the bellows, I forge the steel
In all the shops of trade;
I hammer the ore, and turn the wheel
Where my arms of strength are made:
I manage the furnace, the mill, the mint,
I carry, I spin, I weave;
And all my doings I put into print
On every Saturday eve.

I've no muscle to weary, no breast to decay,
No bones to be "laid on the shelf,"
And soon I intend you may "go and play,"
While I manage the world myself.
But harness me down with your iron bands,
Be sure of your curb and rein,
For I scorn the strength of your puny hands,
As the tempest scorns a chain.

DANTE.

[Professor LOWELL, of Cambridge, delivered an interesting and highly satisfactory lecture on Dante, at the Brooklyn Athenæum, on Thursday evening, 12th inst., of which *The Post* gives the following abstract:]

THE lecturer commenced by referring to the associations of Florence, the birth-place of the great Tuscan poet, a city not so large as Boston, which ranks next to Athens in its classic associations. There certainly is no city so modern, yet so linked to the past. Time seems here almost to have spared the footprints of the great men whose fame has defied him. The room of Michael Angelo seems to await him; his staff leans in the corner; his unfinished sketches lie upon the table. And here, too, one may press the same stairs which John Milton ascended [illegible] Galileo. Among the great names associated with this city, there is one before which every man [illegible] been touched by the tragedy of life. [illegible] extent of his achievements, Dante has only two [illegible] literature—Homer and Shakspeare. He is [illegible] men whose name stands for a country, over [illegible] seems to watch, giving him good with a wise [illegible]ance, and evil with a kindly forethought, that [illegible] lesson may be wanting in the school of the world. He rises above the rank of a mere national sympathy, and, instead of being a mere Italian, is a great human Man everywhere, by genius and conduct.

Alighieri Dante was born in 1265; lost his father early; was provided by his mother with the best education which could be obtained in his time. He afterwards studied everything possible to be learned in that age. He was employed thirteen times as Ambassador, and was afterwards Prior. He was banished in 1302. It was a custom in Florence to celebrate the return of Spring, by festivities on the first of May, and it was probably upon one of these occasions, at her father's house, that he was inspired with the beauty of Beatrice Partinari. He tells us she was so beautiful that all the citizens crowded to see her when she walked in the city, and so pure that they bent down their eyes in her presence. She became the wife of another person, and died in 1290, when Dante was in his twenty-fifth year. He did not give himself up to grief, but turned his attention to philosophy and religion; a poem was never undertaken in a more pious or reverential spirit. He died in 1321, at Ravenna.

In his relation to literature, Dante is the transition from the ancient to the modern style. The Greek poet was material; to him a tree was a tree, and nothing more. But the modern poet makes the outward the type of himself; in nature he beholds the figure of something high and spiritual. In all Greek poetry there is none of the sentimental love of nature so characteristic of modern poetry. Shakspeare belonged eminently to the Greek poets; he was in truth but a belated Greek. He took his subjects from the popular mythology of the day, and he was altogether artistic. But if a man were asked to give the opinion of William Shakspeare upon any subject whatever, he could not do it.

Wordsworth might be regarded as an extreme representative of modern poetry. His poems are songs of moods, or series of moods, without beginning, middle, or end. Dante stands midway between these two extremes. His poem reflects the ideas, manners and mythology of the age in which he lived, and in its moral is the autobiography of the author. In form, his poem is epic; in its true meaning it is lyric. He was the first great Christian poet. True, verses of the kind called sacred had been written before his time; there were church legends of Christian martyrdom in verse, sufficient to make a person feel that any martyrdom was preferable to hearing them. In some of these, certain Christian doctrines were typified, but it was only mythological. Christianity had never yet incorporated itself with a great poem.

The lecturer compared the Christian idea, which he believed Dante first embodied in poetic form, with the Greek idea. The Greek abounds in heroes, who struggle with sublime courage, but who are sure of defeat at last; and that defeat is final. When Ulysses meets Achilles in the Elysian Fields, he tries to console him; but he replies that he had rather be the poorest shepherd on earth than a king in Elysium. The gods of the Greek poets are partisans. They log-roll, they hold caucuses, and lobby for their candidates. But the secret of the Greek poets sunk with them. But the Christian idea has to do with the human soul. Its highest subjects of poetry are not æsthetic, but moral. The Greek idea makes monarchs of but here and there a hero; Christianity makes a monarch of every man; it would make aspiration the ideal of every life. It is this idea of aspiration with which the middle ages, by no accident, instinctively typified in the Gothic Cathedral.

Dante began to write "Divina Commedia" in Latin, but his inspiration would sing itself out in Italian, nay, even in Tuscan, and he finished in that dialect. Most of the great poets have, in a certain sense, been provincial—Homer, Scott, Dante, Burns, the lecturer cited as examples.

The Gothic is the type not only of Christianity, but of Dante's poem. In it we can read the autobiography of the Fourth century, and the Italian people. It is not a chapel housing a single saint; it is truly the cathedral, over whose altar hangs the high emblem of suffering. There are side chapels, as is fitting, and all virtues and perfections. But the great impression of its great thought is that of aspiration forever and ever.

But what gives this poem a peculiar claim as a Christian poem is not merely its doctrinal truth, but the fact that the scene is laid, not in this world, but in the soul of man; and though based on the experience of a single man, it is universal in its significance and application. For its universality, it is indebted not to its doctrines, but to Dante. What was Dante's secret? His secret was his genius. And it lies in this, too, that he believed every word he wrote; the lecturer did not doubt that he believed he saw the vision he wrote. He had been taught how little this life means—how much the next. He found out the purpose of his life when twenty-five. He fully believed he had received a commission to write a great poem. Carlyle says his power lies in intensity. Like all great poets, he speaks things, and not about things. How it is done is yet inexplicable. We might, perhaps, as well call it intensity as anything else. Yet that seems hardly to express it; for Shakspeare could take up our morning papers, and out of the events which we read and which excite us construct a Hamlet or Macbeth. There is in this secret something more than intensity.

Dante's power of language lay entirely in poetry. As soon as he comes down to prose, he fails; and if he had only left behind him his prose productions, we might perhaps believe that he really has written some of the recent productions which he is said to have dictated through the legs of an inspired table.

He was a man who possessed that indefinable something called character, which gives to a word more value, because we feel a man behind it. Though his sentiments have been called stern and gloomy, we find in him a heart as tender and gentle as that of a child.

There are two objections urged against Dante's poem; one that it is allegory, the other that it is didactic. People justly have as much dread of allegory as though it really were synonymous with alligator. And those volumes of poetry which are didactic and all teachings are no more poetry than is Saunders's Spelling Book, or Colburn's Arithmetic. To read Pollock or Young is an achievement; a man feels like making his will before undertaking the task; and we feel profoundly grateful that that breed of poets is extinct. How do we clear him from those grave charges? Simply by saying that he was a great poet. He gives us a double meaning, as nature does. All great poems like his stand in the relation to us that nature does. We may look upon it as a delight; but we may also look upon it as the shadow and type of the spiritual. The poet may give us more than he can afterwards reason out and explain. A great poem is a companion—a teacher: as we read, it becomes rife with faith and inspiration. Genius, like Nature, speaks in types which present a friendly face to every man, and every mood of a man. A poet is universal in his experience, and can write for all. When Tennyson says,

"Come into the garden, Maud,"

every lover feels that he helped him to write it, and every maiden thinks he has betrayed the reason her shoes were wet with dew the night before. Dante is universal, because he has told the everlasting story of a man purified by trial—of a man who learns to hate evil, and then to do good. His poem has been pronounced stern and severe, but he regarded himself as only the reporter of what he saw. The whole poem is as contemporary as a newspaper. He is certainly the earliest to discover that it is not history, but man himself, that is an epic; and so he constructed a poem from his own nature.

But the poem derives its chief value as the experience of a true soul. Every hope disappointed, his faith in God rises to starry sublimity.

We are all conscious of a dual life—the one we carry to the dinner table and the place of business, and which dies with the body: the other, spiritual and immortal. It is the province of the poet to picture, in enduring colours, the glimpses of this inner life we so soon forget.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

A great granddaughter of Corneille, Mme. Venve Girard, *née* Corneille, died last week, at Carpentras, at the age of eighty-five years.

——AN AIRY NOTHING.—Mr. Thomas Carlyle is requested to state whether he does not think that if certain gentlemen deserve the name of Wind-bag, a lady whose petticoats are distended with air might not be correctly denominated a Wind-baggage.—*Punch.*

——A work, entitled "Communications from Departed Spirits, through the medium of Maria Kahlhammer and Crescens Wolff," has just been condemned (literally cursed) and forbidden at Munich, by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church. All persons, no matter what their rank or condition in life may be, are prohibited from lending, borrowing, reading or retaining in their possession this work, under pain of excommunication.

——MISS NIGHTINGALE.—The secretaries of the Nightingale Fund announce subscriptions amounting, up to this time, in round figures to nearly £40,000. The sum is intended to be "a record of national gratitude to Miss Nightingale for the invaluable services rendered by her to the sick and wounded of the British forces;" and is "raised to enable her to establish an institution for the training, sustenance and protection of nurses and hospital attendants."

——BRIBERY IN A GOOSE!—The *Opinione* of Turin relates the following amusing anecdote: In 1707, while the fate of Neufchatel was still undecided, Prince Metternich, the Prussian minister at that period, had recourse to several devices in order to gain over the most influential inhabitants of the principality to the Prussian interest, and one day he sent one of these gentlemen a present of a pair of geese. The individual thus favoured did not think it beneath his dignity to send one of them to the market to be sold, keeping the other for his own dinner. But, alas for human shortsightedness! on proceeding to dress the goose it was found to contain a rouleau of 100 louis. Great were the exertions made to obtain the restitution of the other interesting biped, but in vain, and the unfortunate seller was obliged to rest content with what he had not been goose enough to sell.

——A curious anecdote is told of the conduct of the Turkish plenipotentiary in the Conferences. Hitherto it has been supposed that to speak of the Turkish empire as the "Sublime Porte" was to use a most respectful locution, and one quite in conformity with the figurative style which is in favour in the East. But on two different occasions, when this expression occurred on reading over the protocol, Mehemet Djemil Bey protested, and said that the "Sublime Porte" was only a house, and that his positive instructions were that the phrase "His Highness the Sultan" should be substituted for it. It was only on the representation of Count Walewski that such a change would necessitate the entire redrawing of the protocol that his Turkish Excellency withdrew his objection. No doubt, however, attention to the desires of Turkey upon this point, now that they are known, will be paid on future occasions.

——Happy as a king! Among popular delusions, which so common (observes the *Athenæum*) as the delusion respecting the happiness of kings and queens? Once upon a time, to be as drunk as a lord expressed the popular notion of human felicity; but, since uncrowned kings have become common as blackberries, and attempts at assassination have ceased to be a nine days' wonder, street boys and girls, of all ages, have adopted the more violent and ridiculous sentiment. Readers of a higher grade—accustomed to hear of dynasties going the round of Europe hat in hand—have, perhaps, learnt to estimate regal station at a more moderate figure. If they have not, we advise them forthwith to read and learn. Who would care to say with the Roman, Crown me to-day—kill me to-morrow? Who would care to be a ruler whose love for his people was tempered by the daily fear of a stiletto or a pistol? Who would care to live, or have his son live, the life of a Pretender—that insufferable exile, which has no country and no career?

——WAYS AND MEANS.—The question which, just at present, chiefly occupies attention, is how to provide for the abolition of the income tax, by just, as well as necessary, taxation. To this end we have received various suggestions. A young lady proposes the imposition of an additional tax upon cigars; on all dogs, except King Charles's spaniels, Skye terriers and Italian greyhounds; on guns; on yachts and wager-boats; on canes and walking-sticks. Several young gentlemen recommend a tax on crinoline; on bandoline; on eau-de-Cologne, patchouli and all other perfumes; on buns; on ices; on bouquets, pianos and white satin shoes. Various individuals connected with Exeter Hall urge the enactment of a tax upon theatrical performances; all concerts of a secular nature; casinos; masquerades, whether public or private; races; dog-fights; and even parties. By sundry adherents of the Band of Hope, an increase in the taxation of malt and hops, and all fermented or spirituous liquors is advocated. Divers publicans, on the other hand, desire an augmentation of the duty on tea and coffee, and the addition of a Government per-centage to the water rate. The Vegetarians generally contend for a tax on butchers' meat; the Homœopathists for an increase of duty on all articles of the *Materia Medica*, and a special tax on allopathic prescriptions. "Paterfamilias" is in favour of a tax upon lodging-houses. "An Old Bachelor" wishes for a tax on the following articles: Hardbake, lollipops, toffee; toys; rusks, tops-and-bottoms; wet-nurses; cats; perambulators; violet-powder and babies.—*Punch.*

——ICE ON A VOLCANO.—A remarkable discovery was some years ago made on Etna, of a mass of ice preserved for many ages, perhaps for centuries, from melting, by the singular event of a current of red-hot lava having flowed over it. The following are the facts in attestation of a phenomenon which must at first sight appear of so paradoxical a character. The extraordinary heat experienced in the south of Europe during the Summer and Autumn of 1828, caused the supplies of snow and ice, which had been preserved in the Spring of that year, for the use of Catania and the adjoining parts of Sicily, and the neighbouring island of Malta, to fail entirely. Considerable distress was felt for the want of a commodity regarded in these countries as one of the necessaries of life rather than an article of luxury, and on the abundance of which, in some large cities, the salubrity of the water and the general health of the people may be said to depend. The magistrates of Catania applied to Signor M. Gemmelaro, in the hope that his local knowledge of Etna might enable him to point out some crevice or grotto in the mountain where drift snow was still preserved. Nor were they disappointed: for he had long suspected that a small mass of perennial ice at the foot of the highest cone was part of a larger and continued glacier covered by a lava current. Having procured a large body of workmen, he quarried into this ice, and proved the superposition of the lava for several hundred yards, so as to completely satisfy himself that nothing but the subsequent flowing of the lava over the ice could account for the position of the glacier. We may suppose, that at the commencement of an eruption, a deep mass of drift snow had been covered by volcanic sand, showered down upon it before the descent of the lava. A dense stratum of this fine dust mixed with scoriæ is well known to be an excellent non-conductor of heat, and may thus have preserved the snow from complete fusion when the burning flood poured over it. The shepherds in the higher regions of Etna are accustomed to provide an annual store of snow to supply their flocks with water in the Summer months, by strewing over the snow in the Spring a layer of volcanic sand a few inches thick which effectually prevents the sun from penetrating. When lava had once consolidated over a glacier at the height of ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, we may readily conceive that the ice would endure as long as the snows on Mont Blanc, unless melted by volcanic heat from below.

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NEW BOARDING HOUSE.—Respectable persons can be accommodated with genteel transient or permanent board, by applying to the subscriber, No. 378 South street, Philadelphia. [illegible]

THEODORE PARKER'S WORKS.—Just received and for sale at Anti-Slavery Office, [illegible] PARKER'S SPEECHES. [illegible] PARKER'S DISCOURSE OF RELIGION. [illegible] Also, Portraits, large and elegant, of Parker, Phillips, Sumner and William Lloyd Garrison.

FRANKLIN WOOD, 104 South Fourth street, below Walnut, Philadelphia. CONVEYANCING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES. Real Estate bought and sold. Money procured on Mortgages. [illegible] Houses rented, Rents collected, &c. N.B. Marriage Certificates, Friends' ceremony drawn, [illegible] correctly.

CARRIAGE REPOSITORY.—The subscriber informs the public that he has opened his new Carriage Repository at 156 Race street, [illegible] of new and second hand Carriages [illegible] Carriages made to order on moderate terms. [illegible] commission. [illegible] GEO. DODD, Phila.

CHARLES C. JACKSON, Tailor, 201 Arch street, below Sixth street, Philadelphia, would respectfully call the attention of his friends and the public to his [illegible] a constant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, &c. [illegible] best quality, will be kept ready to make up [illegible] manner and on the most accommodating terms.

NEW TRIMMING STORE, No. 111 Spring Garden st., above Eighth.—The undersigned wish to inform the general, and their anti-slavery friends in particular, that they have opened at [illegible] assortment of Staple and Fancy Dress Trimmings, [illegible] Gloves, Combs, Brushes, Perfumery, &c., which they offer at moderate prices. [illegible]

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for the superiority of TRUNKS, VALISES, [illegible] Trunks, [illegible] and sola leather steel spring, [illegible] descriptions, of the finest Leather [illegible] Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices. THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer, 130 Market street, S. W. cor. 4th, Philadelphia.

PHRENOLOGICAL CABINET.—Fowlers, Wells & Co., Phrenologists and Publishers, 231 Arch street, below Seventh, Philadelphia, furnish all works on Phrenology, Physiology, Water-Cure, Magnetism and Phonography, wholesale and retail, at New York prices. Professional examinations, with charts, and full written descriptions of character, day and evening. Cabinet free.

CONFECTIONERY.—Leatitia Bullock, No. 69 N. Ninth street, Phila., respectfully informs her friends and the public that she is prepared to furnish Ice Creams, Water Ices, Jellies, Cakes, Candies, &c. [illegible] the produce of Free Labour, and warranted [illegible] Parties and families furnished at short notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

KENDERDINE & JUSTICE, Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic HARDWARE, S. W. corner of Garden and Seventh streets, Philada. Constantly on hand a large assortment of Hardware, Cutlery, &c., at the lowest prices, wholesale or retail. Particular attention paid to [illegible] ware for building. JOSEPH R. KENDERDINE, | WARREN JUSTICE.

PHRENOLOGY.—Removal.—William B. Elliott's Institute and Museum is now at the spacious (Stone) building, 359 Chestnut street, above 12th, Philadelphia. Admission to Phrenological [illegible] evening to visitors—free—and the power of the [illegible] mind and the [illegible] analyzed. Price $3.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFES, of various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. [illegible] EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favours, [illegible] continuance [illegible] elsewhere. [illegible] large assortment always on hand. N.B. Sole Agency for [illegible] Door Locks. [illegible]

ROBERT R. CORSON & CO., successors to Bacon, Price & Co., [illegible] latter, at No. 53 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, are prepared to deliver Lehigh, Schuylkill and Locust Mountain Coal of the best quality [illegible] residence of [illegible] connection [illegible] ness, for [illegible] sell on better [illegible] with ALL the [illegible] Orders respectfully solicited. ROBERT L. [illegible] Office, 53 South Fourth street, and Broad above Spruce, Philadelphia.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! [illegible]

JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, [illegible] largest, most [illegible] made expressly [illegible] salesman, [illegible] lowest price [illegible] *must* buy at [illegible] great pains [illegible] assurance of [illegible] Remember the CRESCENT, in Market, above 6th, No. 200. JONES & CO.

TO COUNTRY STOREKEEPERS.—The subscriber has on hand, of his own manufacture, a large assortment of Ladies', Misses' and Children's Leather, Kid and Morocco BOOTS, and GAITERS, [illegible] at as low wholesale prices [illegible] get any sizes [illegible] the smaller [illegible] N.B. Gaiter Uppers, ready for the last, sold to Country Shoemakers at low prices. [illegible]

FAMILY FLOUR STORE, No. 35 North Fifth street, near Arch, Philadelphia. [illegible] families may [illegible] market, as a [illegible] rable brands [illegible] Wheat Meal [illegible] anywhere in [illegible] transportation [illegible] CALEB CLOTHIER. N.B. A[illegible] Western.

SIGN OF THE MAMMOTH PEN, No. 52 N. Fourth street, (2d door below Arch) Phila., [illegible] Blank Books, [illegible] English, French and American [illegible] lopes, Sealing Wax, [illegible] superior Gold and Steel Pens, [illegible] Paper, [illegible] and Books, [illegible] Paper, &c. [illegible] Portmonnaies, [illegible] Diaries, &c. [illegible] Rodgers', W[illegible] velopes, 10 c[illegible] J. W. CLOTHIER & CO., Fourth st., below Arch, Phila.

PORTABLE DESK and DRESSING CASE Manufactory.—[illegible] would respectfully [illegible] many of whom [illegible] care and study [illegible] multum in parvo [illegible] tic Perfumery [illegible] lish and American [illegible] sors, and every [illegible] proved make [illegible] Cases, Ladies' [illegible] monnaies, Money Belts, and a general assortment of articles. WM. T. FRY, [illegible] 128 Arch street, above Sixth, south side, Philada.

URATE FOR SALE.—Urate, a new highly nitrogenous and phosphatic Manure, [illegible] tion (dry and [illegible]) offered to the American agricultural public [illegible] years past, [illegible] German farmers [illegible] Frankfort has [illegible] For sale at [illegible] Cohocksink Works, [illegible] Front st. [illegible] promptly attended to.

BOOKS FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, Philadelphia:

Life of Isaac T. Hopper
Writings of Garrison
The Garland of Freedom
Theodore Parker's Works
Life of Edward [illegible]
Discourse, by [illegible]
Five Hundred Thousand Strokes for Freedom
God's Image in Ebony
Stephens's View [illegible]
Inside View of Slavery [illegible]
White Slavery in the Barbary States, by Charles Sumner
Uncle Tom at Home
Poems, on [illegible]
The Edinburgh [illegible]
Pictures and [illegible]
The Refugees, [illegible]
Sketches of [illegible]
Miscellaneous [illegible]
Africa and the American Flag
Caste: a Story [illegible]
Star Papers, by Henry Ward Beecher
Coloured Patriots of the American Revolution, by W. C. Nell
Speeches in Congress, [illegible]
The Personal Narrative of [illegible] woman
Whittier's Poems
My Bondage and My Freedom, by Frederick Douglass
Four Months in Liberia [illegible]
Uncle Tom's Cabin [illegible]
&c. &c. &c.

Any book in the Philadelphia market can be had, at short notice and at the current price, by sending an order to this office.